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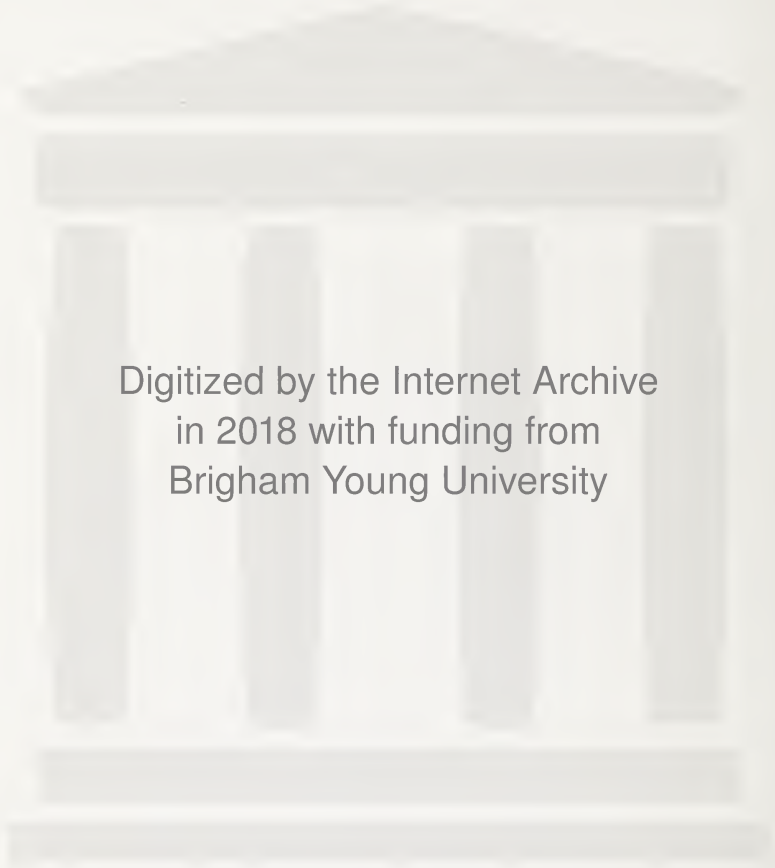
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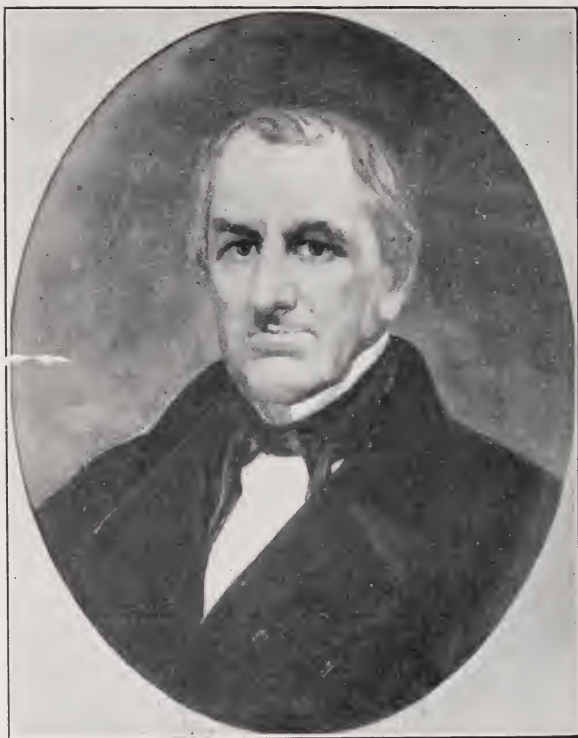


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OLIVER D. FILLEY.

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# MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

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No. 6.

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## REMARKS OF CHARLES P. JOHNSON ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE PORTRAIT OF OLIVER D. FILLEY TO THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1903.

I have been selected by the donors to formally present to the Missouri Historical Society this portrait of Mr. Oliver D. Filley, for years an honored and beloved citizen of St. Louis. It is well worthy of a place in this consecrated repository alongside of the many distinguished men who have in the past shed honor and glory upon our city. In view of the character of the donation and the occasion, I deem it proper and appropriate to review to a limited extent the life and public services of the subject of the portrait.

Oliver Dwight Filley was born at Bloomfield, in the State of Connecticut on the 23d day of May, 1806. His family was of Welsh origin. His American ancestry dates from the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth Rock in 1620. Thirteen years after this event, a record of Windsor, Connecticut, shows the settlement there of a colony with William Filley among the number. From this William Filley descended the various branches of the extensive and widely distributed Filley family. Oliver Filley was the name of Mr. Filley's father, and he had five sons and one daughter. Mr. Filley was the eldest born. The father

did an extensive business in the manufacturing of tin. In those days to learn a trade was the fashion, and young Filley learned the tinner's trade in his father's establishment. At the same time all ambitious youths strove to acquire an education, and young Filley was among that number. As opportunity afforded he attended the common schools, and, through perseverance and economy of time, he acquired a reasonably good education.

At the age of twenty-one the independent and adventurous spirit of his ancestors moved in him and he embarked westward. Philadelphia was his destination. This was a growing place and was made more attractive to the youth of the country by reason of its intimate relations to the birth of the republic. On his arrival there he was not in so sad a plight as Ben Franklin, who had only his trade to depend upon, for young Filley had an uncle there, Harvey Filley by name, who was engaged in the tinning business. He worked at his trade with this uncle for a time, but it seems was not encouraged by the outlook, and thereupon journeyed to Pittsburg. There again his trade occupied his time and gave him a support. The glowing accounts from the then far west attracted his attention and we find him, after a short visit to his home in Bloomfield, traveling to St. Louis where he arrived and located in the year 1829.

Fortunate was this decision for him and doubly fortunate for our people. Mr. Filley was now twenty-three years old, and assuredly it can be said that he grew up with the place. At that time St. Louis was a village in comparison to what it was at the time of Mr. Filley's death in August, 1881. The first mayor of St. Louis was Mr. William Carr Lane, who held office from 1823 to 1829, and the second mayor was Daniel D. Page. Therefore, Mr. Filley located in St. Louis the year of the close of the term of the first, and the beginning of that of the second mayor of St. Louis.

Starting to work at his trade, a stranger in a strange place, it is hardly probable that his ambition foreshadowed

the possibility of his being mayor of the same place thirty years thereafter, and it grown to the dimensions of a great and populous city. His span of life covered a marvelous epoch in the history of the city and the nation. It is difficult to compute and appreciate the achievements made in every branch of civilization during that era. They bewilder the mind by their variety and immensity. An intellectual activity never before known in the annals of time was just under way when Mr. Filley came to St. Louis. To follow its work, expansion and results is worthy of a greater epic than has yet been written. I said it was comparatively a village at that time. The population was between 6,000 and 7,000 souls. The city charter had been granted only seven years before. There were no railroads, no telegraphs, no omnibuses, no city hospital, no public library, no health department, no public school building, no daily paper, no merchants' exchange, no under-ground sewers, no daily mail from the east, and, I might add, the absence of a number of other of the improvements of to-day, but this enumeration is sufficient to convey an idea of what the city was, and let you compare these facts with the present well-known condition, or conditions in 1881, to verify the statement as to the character and magnitude of the events occurring during the period of Mr. Filley's citizenship in St. Louis.

Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Filley went to work as a journeyman tinner with a Mr. Mansfield, who conducted a business in that line on a limited scale. After working one year for Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Filley purchased the establishment and entered upon that business career which gave him not only a fortune but the universal honor and esteem of his fellow citizens.

Mr. O. D. Filley was the pioneer of the Filley family in St. Louis. Mr. Giles F. Filley, whose name is intimately associated with the career of the former, was his brother, and came to St. Louis in the year 1834. He also learned the trade of a tinner with his brother and thereafter the two formed a copartnership in the busi-

ness and it was conducted by them for about four years. Mr. Giles F. Filley then withdrew from the partnership and began the manufacture of stoves. Mr. Oliver D. Filley continued in the old establishment on Main street between Olive and Pine streets, until the year 1873, when he sold out to Mr. Rodney D. Wells and retired from active business.

As soon as Mr. Filley purchased and became the owner of the establishment of Mr. Mansfield, he started out on the lines that ultimately gave him success and the highest standing in the commercial world. In those homely virtues that protect men from evil and are the surest guides to prosperity and happiness he was prodigally dowered. Of course they had an ancestral strength in him. Individual characteristics in those days were remarked; associates had time to note them and the community became aware of their existence from personal contact and reliable report. Every one who ever knew Mr. Filley for any length of time was impressed with his individuality. And that individuality was not only strong but the traits thereof were good. He knew himself, was self-reliant and had faith and confidence in his own judgment. At the same time I never knew a man of more simplicity of character, or who had less of self-assertion. There was not a particle of arrogance in him. Firm as a rock in his opinions and convictions of right, yet he was always tolerant of the opinions of others. Notwithstanding he was from the first a free-soiler in a slave state, where partisanship at times reached the highest point of intensity, still it never interfered with his personal relations with his fellow-citizens, and at no time became an obstruction to the development of his local or rural business. At the same time he never suppressed his opinions. His light was not hid under a bushel. When he started in this city, our government had only been running about forty years. Everybody still had definite political opinions and thought it a sacred duty to express them. Some were tolerant and some were the reverse. I have often thought what a blessing it was that the little band of orig-

inal free-soilers were so tolerant, conservative and diplomatic. If they had been less so, the scourges of war might have been augmented tenfold.

Mr. Filley's business developed rapidly. He supplied the wants in one line at least of the growing population of the west. He manufactured articles of universal need. The avenues of transportation were not like unto the present, but the rivers of the country were widely utilized as the highways of commercial expansion. Mr. Filley had in a high degree that business sagacity which was so prominent a trait in the successful merchant of that day. He was conservative in his methods, careful in investment and credit, rationally economical, courteous and affable in bearing, industrious and attentive to business, and, above all, sacredly honest in all his dealing. If there ever was an honest man, Mr. Filley was an ideal one. He did not lead the modern strenuous life. He believed that there was something else in the business world than simply to accumulate money. He had the old-fashioned desire of gaining the respect and esteem of his fellow-man by following a moral standard in achieving success. Speculative processes he never indulged in. The growth of his wealth was a natural development of labor, judgment, self-reliance and honorable dealing. Sterling qualities such as he possessed were readily discerned in those days, and he was early called into the association of men who were moulding the ideas destined in their effect to develop the after greatness of our metropolis.

Political thought, as before stated, was very active among our citizens in those days. The question of finance was an important issue, but that of slavery was the all-pervading and important one. As might be expected from his genesis, education and character, Mr. Filley was a strong believer in sound money and an opponent of slavery extension. Further, at least, in an economic sense, he thought slavery was a blight rather than a blessing to Missouri. This naturally drew him to the support of the political tenets of Jackson and Benton. He believed they

were right, and in his unobtrusive but determined way he supported their policies. His strength and influence was known by both those distinguished statesmen, and he became their personal friend. In the days of Mr. Benton's ascendancy as well as those of his defeat, that gentleman was wont, on his visits to St. Louis, to make his first call upon Mr. Filley at his old place of business. He was well worthy of the confidence that such action upon the part of Mr. Benton indicated, and fully able, by reason of his sincerity and strong judgment to be a judicious observer.

One incident in his life, occurring after he had reached a position in the business world, indicates his character and his adherence to principle. He was chosen a director in the old State Bank of Missouri at a time when the credit of that institution stood as high as any in the country. At the same time, the financial condition of Illinois was chaotic. The issues of her banks flooded the country and it was based upon speculative and worthless securities. Political as well as other influences were used to obtain recognition from other banks. The directorate of the Missouri Bank decided to receive their deposits. Mr. Filley could not be induced to sanction it and resigned his position rather than do so.

He was among the first of the advocates of free soil for Missouri. In this movement he became associated with Thomas H. Benton, Frank P. Blair, B. Gratz Brown, John How, Giles F. Filley, William McKee and others. He assisted in starting the "Barnburner," which was edited by Mr. Blair. Thereafter he subscribed to the fund to establish the St. Louis Union, a journal devoted to the interests of Mr. Benton and his party, and was a continuous financial contributor to the Missouri Democrat after its consolidation with the former paper until the time that paper became a paying enterprise about the time of the breaking out of the Civil War. It may be seen, therefore, that he gave of his substance with a generous hand to support his political convictions in addition to active work

in council and organization. Though he became associated with many enterprises of a quasi public nature he was decidedly averse to being a candidate for public office. He had no ambition in that direction and it was not in harmony with his tastes. There came a time, however, in the history of the free soil party in this city when he was forced to lay aside his personal wishes and accept the nomination for the mayoralty. This was in the year 1858. He was the strongest man that could be selected for the candidacy, and in fact it was believed the only one who could be elected. The party at that time was sore pressed by intense partisanship from without and dissensions within the ranks. The slavery question had become the only issue throughout the country, and the whole power of the State was used to overthrow the party opposed to it in St. Louis. I became personally acquainted with Mr. Filley during the year 1858 and assisted as well as I could in his election. In 1859 the necessity of again accepting the candidacy was more apparent than ever. His refusal was virtual party defeat. It was only after insistent appeals on the part of Mr. Blair and his followers that he accepted. He was moved only by a sense of duty. Duty was his guiding star through life. I was associated with him on the ticket, having been selected as a candidate for City Attorney, then an elective office. This re-election of Mr. Filley was for the term of two years, an amendment having been made to the city charter during his first term so lengthening it from one to two years.

The importance of this election as affecting the interests of St Louis and Missouri will be noted the fact that his term covered the three years preceding the breaking out of the Civil War. During the last year of his service as mayor the election of Mr. Lincoln occurred. Mr. Filley virtually went from the position of mayor to the chairmanship of the important Committee of Public Safety.

It would be impossible in the time allotted to review the history of Mr. Filley's administration as Mayor. It covered a most critical period of our annals. Financially the

the city was in a bad condition. The estimate of the general revenue presented by the mayor in his message of 1858 exhibited a revenue of \$859,883, and an expenditure of 1,038,000, and the further sum of \$363,000 not included. Mr. Filley strongly recommended retrenchment and reform, not only to curtail the current expenditures, but to arrest as far as it was possible all improvements contemplated by existing ordinances not immediately demanded by the urgent wants of the people. As an illustration of his sincerity in favor of this line of policy he proposed a reduction of one-half of the mayor's salary and a corresponding reduction of the salary of other city officials. He gave much attention to perfecting the methods of taxation and improving the streets; to the making of the charitable bequest of Judge Bryan Mullanphy effective, and several other important municipal subjects.

Mr. Filley was a firm believer in morality. He respected the Sabbath and was opposed to selling liquor on Sunday. This brought him in opposition to the Germans who composed in large part the rank and file of the free soil party. They were very tenacious of their personal liberty rights. The Sunday law was submitted at the regular election of 1859 to a vote of the people on the question for or against the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday. The vote as returned was 5528 for and 7544 against the proposition. Mr. Filley carried out with energy and determination the endorsed reform. Notwithstanding this vote the Common Council passed an ordinance on August 9, 1859, legalizing the keeping open of saloons on Sunday until 9 o'clock on Sunday morning and after 3 in the afternoon of that day. Mr. Filley very politely informed the body that had so grossly disregarded the voice of the people that his views were as follows:

“The peculiar feature of our political system is in its representative principle, and this will be likely to endure and claim the willing obedience of all so long as it is justly administered. It will be your duty to devise such amendments (to the election law) as will satisfy our

citizens that their rights in this respect are in no danger and that the result obtained at the ballot box is the true exponent of those entitled to suffrage."

Further events of Mr. Filley's administration were the perfection of the paid fire department and the fire alarm telegraph system. It was in the second term of Mr Filley's service as mayor that the present King of England visited St Louis and was received and entertained by him and a committee of distinguished citizens.

The duties devolving upon Mr. Filley when acting on the Committee of Public Safety were weighty and serious. His associates were James O Broadhead, Samuel T Glover, John How, and J. J. Witzig. They were all able and patriotic citizens and the Committee had much to do in saving Missouri to the Union. A most critical condition of affairs existed after the taking of Camp Jackson and during the assignment of General Fremont to the Department of the West. The diverse policies urged by different leaders of the Union cause was the source of serious dissensions and attended with no ordinary danger. The difference between General Fremont and Mr. Blair finally culminated in the recall of General Fremont, but it divided the old free soil party. Mr. Filley had been for years the staunchest and in many respects the most efficient support of Mr. Blair. In that memorable contest he still adhered to Mr. Blair, and the influence of the Committee of Public Safety controlled the policy of Mr. Lincoln's administration in Missouri. To support the stand taken by Mr. Blair and his friends Mr. Filley contributed largely to starting the St Louis Daily Union which was edited by Mr. Peter L. Foy. The name of this paper was afterwards changed to the Dispatch and is now the Post Dispatch.

As illustrative of the character and importance of the work of Mr. Filley and his Committee in behalf of the Union cause, I cannot do better than quote from a letter from Mr. John How to Dr. William G. Eliot shortly after Mr. Filley's death. Mr. How was a life-long friend of Mr. Filley and an associate member of the Com-

mittee of Public Safety. This letter aptly describes some of the individual characteristics of Mr. Filley: —

“In the Civil War I was closely identified with him (wrote Mr. How), and when the troops were raised and money needed to support the recruits until enrolled his purse was always open. It became needful to obtain cloth to make the uniforms of three regiments:—Blair’s, one of the Germans and John D. Stevenson’s. There was but a limited amount of cloth suitable in the city and we were authorized to buy it, but, on application no one would trust the government of the United States, but would trust O. D. and myself. The old gentleman rated them for their want of patriotism, but told them to buy the cloth and that he and I would pay for it in four month’s time. This was accepted, but then came another trouble. O. D. Filley had given but one note in his life and was determined not to give another. I went and told the cloth merchant, but also told him that if he would walk with me to Mr. Filley, he would give his word to see my note paid. It was a novel request, but the merchant went with me and received the word of O. D. Filley whose word was considered equal to his bond. The soldiers were clothed, but we could not get the blue cloth for J. D. Stevenson’s regiment, and we sent them to the war in Kentucky jeans. In this connection, let me say in justice to Col. Robert Campbell, that on being called on to sell his cloth to us he said he would not sell, but that he would clothe Blair’s regiment himself, and he did so, You remember that after the first year of the war provost marshals ruled St. Louis with arbitrary rules. Citizens were taken up in every direction upon suspicion of sympathy with the South. Witnesses were asked in and if they would state hearing a conversation that could be construed unfavorably to the government, the arrested man was fined and punished. O. D. Filley made up his mind that this was wrong, and he determined that no power could make him give evidence against such persons. “Let them talk,” he would say, “if they do no overt act do not disturb them.”

After the close of the war Mr. Filley took no active part in politics, but continued to devote his time and labor to business until his retirement therefrom in 1873. Subsequently to this, he gave his attention to the care and management of his property which had largely accumulated, and to the advancement of certain enterprises of a general character.

Mr. Filley married in the year 1835. His life companion was Chloe Velina Brown of Bloomfield, Connecticut. Their married life was a happy one and blessed with a number of sons and daughters, the former of whom are among the most representative men of our city and the latter are married to those of like character. Mr. Filley's death was unexpected. He left St. Louis in apparently the best of health in the month of August, 1881, for a visit to Hampton, a watering place about forty miles from Boston. On the route he was attacked with an acute kidney disease which developed to a fatality in a couple of weeks. He sank gently and peacefully into the sleep of death, surrounded and solaced by loving wife and children. He had reached the age of 75 at the time of his death. The announcement of his death was received with grief and sadness in the hearts of all all who knew him. The city offices were draped with the emblems of mourning and other tokens of respect were made visible. The remains were brought to St. Louis, and after appropriate and impressive funeral services at the family residence, No. 2201 Lucas Place, including a brief eulogy of the deceased by Rev. R. G. Brank, of the Central Presbyterian Church, and a feeling and eloquent address by Dr. William G. Eliot of the Unitarian Church, the remains were taken to that beautiful City of the Dead, Bellefontaine Cemetery. A large concourse of citizens attended the funeral, following the pall-bearers, who were Calvin Haskell, George D. Dana, F. B. Filley, E. R. Kittridge, Edward C. Meacham, E. Richards, John Whitaker and Fred Hawes. The honorary pall-boarers were: Dr. J. B. Johnson, Andrew McKinley, Thomas E. Tutt, John R. Lionberger, James

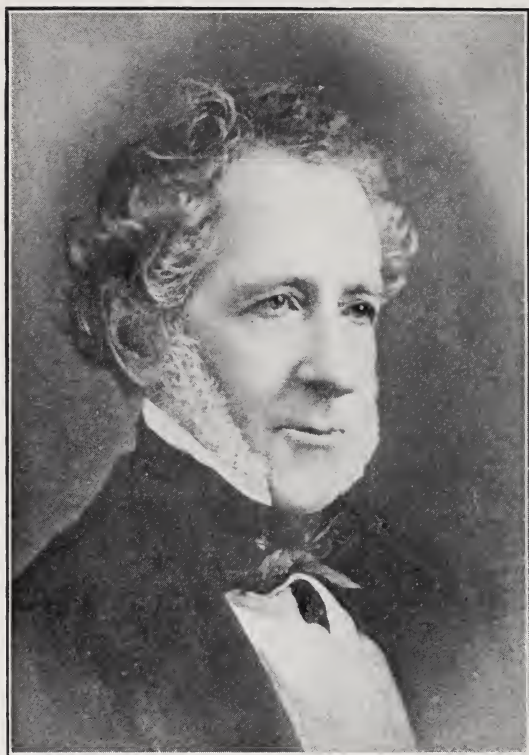
O. Broadhead, James E. Yeatman, B. W. Alexander, J. E. D. Couzins, John Loler and B. Gratz Brown.

Mr. Filley inherited a strong and healthy constitution. His health was uniformly good. He was temperate in all things. He was possessed of a kindly disposition, and, though sincere and earnest in his convictions of right, he was never intolerant or bitter in partisanship. Personal resentments he never entertained. It is related by a friend that on one occasion when walking on the street he bowed and spoke to a person who had injured and maligned him. The friend in surprise asked how he could do it. The reply was: "I never permit myself to feel so bitter against a man that I cannot speak to him."

Mr. Filley was modest in bearing and disliked ostentation. He was genial and courteous in association with his friends, but stern and immovable in adherence to what he deemed right. He was especially proud of his association with mechanical labor. He believed in the dignity of labor. If his opinions were believed in and controlled the financiers of the country to-day there would be no conflict between capital and labor. He was always generous to the worthy needy and accompanied his assistance with words of advice and encouragement.

Mr. Filley was among the foremost of the race of men who laid deep, solid and lasting the foundations of the present and future greatness of St. Louis. The recollections of their achievements should be correctly enshrined in the history of the nation. And I repeat it is meet and appropriate that this likeness of one so endeared to us all by a life time of heroic labor and worthy example should have its place among the greatest in the archives of the Missouri Historical Society.





EDWARD DE LAURÉAL.

EMIGRATION FROM THE FRENCH WEST INDIES  
TO ST. LOUIS IN 1848.

*quaque ipse miserrima vidi,  
Et quorum pars magna fui.*

BY EDWARD DE LAURÉAL.

(Read at a Meeting of the Society, 21 March, 1878.)

Guadeloupe had scarcely recovered from a terrible disaster which had covered the entire colony with ruins, one of those scourges which science and human power are equally helpless to prevent, but which in a few seconds converts a prosperous country into a vast arena of desolation.

On February 8, 1845, about 10 o'clock in the morning Pointe-a-Pitre, the Capital of the colony was destroyed by an earthquake more violent than any previously known. What the reeling earth spared the fire seized upon. The number of dead crushed beneath the ruins or calcined by the flames was so great that there were not sufficient persons to bury them; and as a matter of necessity the remains were transported to the open sea and entombed in the deep.

These evils, the result of a natural catastrophe, the colonists of Guadeloupe had borne with resignation. They had struggled against adversity with an energy worthy of praise. Without hesitation they set to work to clear the land of ruins and repair the disasters which had overwhelmed the country as well as the towns.

Their wounds scarcely healed they began to breathe when of a sudden they found themselves menaced with ruin from another cause in the face of which strength and energy were paralyzed. A political upheaval threatened to destroy in their hands the very instruments of all prosperity.

In the month of March 1848 a sinister rumor spread like a pall over the country and caused a thrill of terror

throughout. It was not yet known precisely what was to be dreaded; but the rumor, though vague, was immediately attended by grave symptoms of disorder. The uncertainty was not of long duration. A war vessel appeared on the horizon; it came bearing to the colony momentous news. A revolution had broken out in France, the king, Louis Philippe, driven from his throne, had been compelled to seek refuge in England. The people, sovereign by revolt, had proclaimed a Republic, and instituted a republican government at the Hotel- de-ville at Paris. The authorities of Guadeloupe, as well as those of all other French colonies, were enjoined for the future to obey no other orders than those emanating from the 'Republic, one and indivisible.'

These news, however we may look at them at a distance, and after a lapse of twenty-nine years, were of a nature to trouble the colony and excite the population to deplorable excesses.

Many colonists, yet living, who passed through the ordeal of the first French Republic, felt a presentment of what was to be dreaded from another the outcome of the barricades. For it should be noted that a republic born, so to speak, with a country and which is developed by assimilating naturally with the genius of its people is something quite different from a republic brought suddenly into existence and imposed abruptly upon populations unprepared for it.

If the colony was not completely upturned during the short duration of the second essay at republicanism it was not the fault of those who made it their business to persuade the blacks that the supreme object of liberty was not only enfranchisement from labor, but to trample in the dust that which they had heretofore respected. The more furious did not hesitate to counsel the use of the knife and of the torch. Happily the slaves were animated with a better spirit than the agitators.

The new agents of power in the colony, doubtless to give proof of their zeal, casting aside every precaution so indis-

pensible nevertheless under such grave circumstances, suddenly proclaimed the abolition of slavery. This precipitation was most ruinous to the country. Of a sudden the master and the slave found themselves face to face in a position embarrassing to both parties, impossible yet to define distinctly and which created a real social peril.

After the first moments of astonishment at their new respective situations, there were compromises between the recently enfranchised and the proprietors who had at heart the continuation of work—compromises which, without satisfying the laborers, were the initiative to the ruin of the proprietors.

In presence of this state of things which could not last long in presence of the alarming rumors which night and day kept the population on the alert, a common thought came at the same time to the heads of families, who, without changing views, felt the emergency to fly from a common danger.

This unanimous thought had America for its object. By a singular chance, St. Louis, in Missouri, was the converging point of all projects of emigration. Consequently, in the month of July, 1848, there were seen disembarking at St. Louis the first families, wandering in search of a security which their native country no longer afforded them.

Soon these families were followed by a great number of other emigrants, so that in 1849 an agglomeration of French from Guadeloupe formed almost a little colony. They had every reason to congratulate themselves on their reception on American soil.

But almost immediately after their arrival the emigrants were doomed to undergo a rude trial. The cholera, which during the spring and summer of 1849 desolated St. Louis, did not spare them. Their members were sadly diminished.

But this time again courage was not wanting in the colonists from Guadeloupe. Then were these people accustomed to the elegances of luxury, the comforts of an

easy life, seen to make courageously the sacrifice of their past in burying its souvenir in the depths of their hearts, and to begin a life of fatigues and rude occupations to which they were far from having been accustomed. More than one mother of a family thrown entirely upon her own resources, by a prodigy of economy and courageous patience, was enabled to bring up her offspring and to place her children in a position to contract alliances with honorable families of her adopted city.

To-day the fusion is complete. The descendants of the French colonists coming from the West Indies, strangers to their maternal tongue, no longer make use of any other language than that of the country of which they are citizens, or are in any respect distinguishable from those around them.

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“ST. ANDREW’S Creek, a small stream in St. Louis County, falls into the Missouri above Bon Homme Creek. On this creek is a very ancient settlement [St. André] made by the French. In 1799, it contained 392 inhabitants, since which time it has been greatly increased by the Americans.” — Beck’s *Gazetteer* (1823), p. 316.

“The site of St. Anthony [St. André], a town which existed about thirteen years since near Bonhomme, is now occupied by the channel of the river.” — (1819) 1 Long’s *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, p. 89.

James Mackay, perhaps the first Scottish resident of Missouri, was commandant at St. André during its whole existence, the date of its destruction by the Missouri seems to be uncertain.

## THE FRENCH EMIGRÉS FROM GUADELOUPE.

Before the revolution of 1848, the French colony of Guadeloupe was one of the most prosperous in the West Indies.

Divided into large plantations, which were cultivated by slaves and in a climate, where nature yields generously to agriculture, the island was in fact a garden, with the mountains as a setting for the rich verdure surrounding them.

The social and economic conditions were much the same as those that obtained in the Southern States, prior to the Civil War.

The law of primogeniture had driven their ancestors to this garden, a place where they could follow out their family traditions in living luxuriously and at ease.

The liberation of the slaves, however, altered this condition of affairs. Their properties, which for years had brought handsome returns, were rendered almost worthless.

The majority of the French settlers sold their property at once. They were not particular as to the price, and were only too glad to have some one relieve them of it.

One of the first was Mr. Edward de Laoreal and his family.

### DE LAOREAL.

Mr. Edward de Laoreal with his wife and six daughters, sailed from Guadeloupe on June 24th, 1848, and reached New Orleans at the end of July.

He desired to settle in Kentucky, but as the Louisville boats were crowded with soldiers returning from the Mexican war, and Mr. de Laoreal did not care to have them as traveling companions for his family, he decided to take a boat to St. Louis, and go from there to Louisville. At St. Louis he was treated with great kindness by those he met, amongst whom were Messrs. Kimball, Cabanne, Soulard, and Mrs. Boyce, to whom he had a letter of introduction.

He was very much pleased to find so many Frenchmen in the city, and was charmed by their hospitality.

When his cousin, Dr. L. C. Boisliniere, urged him to make his home here, he consented without any hesitation.

Mr. de Laureal rented a house in Walsh's row, which had just been built on Fifth street, between Gratiot and Cerre streets,

In the following February his oldest daughter, Mari-quitta, was married to Lieut. J. P. Garesche, U. S. A., who was at home on a furlough from the Mexican war. Archbishop Kenrick performed the ceremony in the old cathedral.

Four years later his second daughter, Nancy, married Mr. Robert A. Bakewell, editor of a paper called "The Shepherd of the Valley," and afterwards Judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals.

Shortly afterwards his daughter, Madeleine, married Dr. N. L. Hornsby, and Octavie married Mr. Randolph Desbonne, who was also from Guadeloupe.

Marie married Mr. John F. Slevin.

After the death of his first wife, Madeleine, Dr. Hornsby married Mr. de Laureal's youngest daughter, Adele.

Mr. de Laureal attained the advanced age of ninety-one years and died in January, 1899, at the home of his son-in-law, Dr. Hornsby, in this city.

Mrs. de Laureal, who is still living, is ninety-four years of age and is the oldest of the remaining settlers from Guadeloupe.<sup>1</sup>

#### BOISLINIERE.

Dr. L. Ch. Boisliniere, whom we have already mentioned came from Guadeloupe shortly before Mr. de Laureal. He went directly to Kentucky, where he met and married Miss Mary Hite. He afterwards moved to St. Louis, where he was well-known and universally esteemed for

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. de Lauréal died in St. Louis, 21 January, 1904, long after this paper was written.

many years, and was quite prominent in his profession. He died about the year 1896, leaving a family of six children, one son and five daughters.

His son, Louis, adopted the profession of his father, and is at present practicing in the city.

His oldest daughter, married Mr. Laurence Cartan. His daughter, Louise, did not marry and died shortly after her father. Lucy married Mr. Caleb Cherbonnier. Lena recently married her cousin, Dr. Grindon, and Pauline, the youngest daughter, is still single.

#### TETARD.

Mr. Boisliniere's sister, Mrs. Adrien Tetard, and her husband arrived in St. Louis during the winter of 1848. Mr. Tetard was employed for many years at the Recorder's office. They left three children, one of whom, Mrs. William Kirchner, is living in the city.

#### DU PAVILLON.

Another family to follow the example of Mr. de Laureal was the Du Pavillon. Mr. Du Pavillon died shortly after his arrival in the United States, leaving a large family. They came to St. Louis where they found many of their old friends and acquaintances.

Albert, the oldest son, worked for many years in the Court House. One of his daughters married Mr. Arthur Grindon, whose son, as we have seen, married Miss Lena Boisliniere. Another daughter who will be remembered by many of the ladies of St. Louis is Mrs. Henry Boisliniere. Her husband, a brother of Dr. Boisliniere, died in Guadeloupe. She came to St. Louis with her mother and taught French in the old St. Vincent's School, where many of St. Louis' matrons were educated. Mrs. Du Pavillon died in St. Louis at an advanced age. The learned Jesuit Missionary, Father Charropin, is a grand-son of Mrs. Du Pavillon.

## CHEROT AND BOURDON.

Other relations of Dr. Boisliniere who came to St. Louis at this time are the Cherot and Bourdon families. Two of the old emigrés are still living and have passed the age of eighty.

## DE POMBIRAY.

Mr. Charles de Pombiray was living in France at the time of the revolution, having gone there from Guadeloupe, that his children might receive a liberal education. He did not escape its effect on this account, however, and finding himself reduced in circumstances decided to follow in the footsteps of his cousin Edward de Laureal, whom he joined in St. Louis. He brought with him his wife and five children.

With Messrs. J. B. and Charles de Laureal who arrived from Guadeloupe on the day of the great fire, in 1849, he started a sugar refinery. This refinery was situated on Hickory St. and for a while it was successful, but for want of sufficient capital the business could not be continued on a sufficiently large scale, and it was sold out.

The Messrs. de Laureal removed to Cuba, where they had charge of some sugar plantations for many years. Mr. J. B. de Laureal afterwards returned to St. Louis, but finding the climate too severe he went to St. Augustine, Fla., where he died in 1882. He was buried with military honors by the soldiers of the fort, as he had formerly been an officer in the French army.

A daughter of Mr. Charles de Laureal, Mrs. Macklot Thompson, is at present living in the city and has quite a reputation as an artist.

Mr. de Pombiray died on the 9th of March, 1903 in his 97th year, leaving three children. His daughter, Mrs. Bestoso, died the previous year.

## BOUVIER AND GILBERT.

The family of Mr. Alfred Bouvier and that of his brother-in-law, Mr Gibert, arrived in St. Louis when the cholera epidemic was at its worst in 1849. They took a house in Walsh's row where Mr. Edward de Laureal was already established.

Mr. Gibert, his mother-in-law, Mrs. Egiman, and five of his children fell victims to the plague a few days after their arrival, and all died within a short time of each other. Such a calamity would be most trying under any circumstances, but on arriving in a strange land where the language was unfamiliar, it was a blow that few could have withstood. Mrs. Gibert and Mrs. Bouvier, however, were superior women and rose above their misfortunes. Being highly educated, they opened a school for girls which was patronized by St Louis' exclusive set. Mrs. Bouvier distinguished herself as a music teacher, and Mrs. Gibert as an instructor in French. They served in the capacity of teachers many years after their school was closed. Mrs. Bouvier's oldest son married Miss Emma Bennett, and her daughter married Mr. Jacob Ewald. Another son, Alfred, married Miss Josie McKellops.

Two other ladies that came from Gaudeloupe at this time were Mrs. Ladevaiz and Mrs. Du Clos, whose husbands died shortly after reaching St. Louis. Mrs. Du Clos when young was a beautiful woman, and impressed the Prince De Joinville as such, he saying that the prettiest thing he had seen in Gaudeloupe was Mrs. Du Clos. She was the sister-in-law of the well known Catholic author, August Nicolas,

Mrs. Eudoxie Peterson and her brother, Seymour Voulaine who gained prominence during the war, were also from Gaudeloupe. The longevity of these families is remarkable. Mr. Charles de Pombiray reached the age of ninety-seven. Mrs. de Laureal has passed her ninety-fourth birthday, and her husband lacked one day of com-

pleting his ninety-first year when he died. At least six of the others have upwards of four score years to their credit.

Before concluding this sketch, let us consider briefly what manner of people these were, who have done their share in forming the social and civic life of this city of ours.

Many of them were descendants of the old French nobility, possessing its fine traits, and few of its failings. They were welcomed and gave to the land of their adoption the best that was in them, examples of refinement and of the highest principles born of a deep religious conviction. Long will their influence be felt by those who have known and loved them.

As to these creole women they were models for mothers, wives and daughters. Accustomed to a life of ease in their native homes, they courageously went to work to help in the support of their families, and aided in encouraging and inspiring their husbands. They brought up their sons to be good citizens, and their daughters to walk in their footsteps.

ADÈLE HORNSBY.

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FIVE or six hundred men of the various tribes go to the Illinois with their rifles and enter suddenly the house of the commandant (at St. Louis) who is generally a Captain of the Battalion of the province, with only thirty-two men. They ask for brandy or for food, often with insolence, and the commandant has to suffer this or to run the greatest risks. The superiority of their forces emboldens them, and their thirst for brandy makes the risk greater, as they become truly wild animals when intoxicated. — Bouligny's *Memoir*, 1776, 2 Fortier, p. 48.

## EDWARD DE LAURÉAL.

Mr. Edward Coudroy de Lauréal came to St. Louis in August, 1848, from the island of Guadeloupe, French West Indies, together with his wife and six daughters. His venerable father followed him next year, and died at his son's farm below Carondelet in 1852. The occasion of the exodus was the wretched state of the French colony after the negroes were emancipated by the revolutionary government of 1848. The horrors of St. Domingo were still fresh in the minds of the older inhabitants of Guadeloupe; but the immediate cause of the exodus was the ruin of the planters, to whom the government paid a miserable pittance for their slaves. The larger planters, as the de Lauréals, were reduced from opulence to quite moderate circumstances, and those whose circumstances had been moderate were brought to destitution. Nor, at the time when Mr. de Lauréal left Guadeloupe, was it certain that anything at all would be received from the government.

Mr. de Lauréal landed in New Orleans with the intention of joining his brother Alexis in Louisville. But Mr. Kimball, of St. Louis, whose acquaintance he made on the boat, so strongly advised Mr. de Lauréal to settle in this city that he changed his plan, came to St. Louis, and shortly afterwards purchased a hundred acres near the Dent and Sigerson farms on the Gravois, where he built a residence and farmed the land for ten or twelve years, when he removed to St. Louis, and afterwards to Carondelet, where he died in 1899, aged 91, having retained all his faculties to the last.

Mr. de Lauréal married his first cousin, Octavie de Lauréal, who survives him at a very advanced age, retaining, however, until quite recently, to a great degree, her very remarkable energy and activity of body and mind. Whilst this is being written, she still lives, beloved and revered by all those who have the privilege of her intimate acquaint-

tance and especially by a numerous circle of descendants to the fourth generation. Of her it may be truly said, in the language of the Holy Writ, "her children rise up and call her blessed."

His daughters married, respectively, Lieut. Colonel Garesché of the artillery (killed December, 1862, beside Rosecrans, in the battle of Stone River), Judge Bakewell, Dr. N. L. Hornsby, Mr. Randolph Desbonne, and Mr. John F. Slevin.

Mr. Edward de Lauréal was of noble family which settled in Guadeloupe in 1690, the members of which were the principal personages of the colony during its prosperous years, to which prosperity, both as military governors and as civilians, they largely contributed. Mr. de Lauréal was a man of high principle, of great refinement, and of varied accomplishments. His education, as was the case with all the wealthy colonists, was had in France. After his marriage and up to his emigration, his family, while in France, lived at Limours, the country seat of the family, near Paris. Four of his daughters were born in Guadeloupe and two in France. Amongst other accomplishments, Mr. de Lauréal was an amateur painter in chalks of great merit, and his landscapes and portraits adorn the houses of his friends and descendants and were highly appreciated by such competent judges as the late Mr. de França, the famous portrait painter of St. Louis before the war.

The ancestor of the West Indian Coudroys was Simon de Coudroy of Dax in Provence, of an ancient family, and whose son Armand de Coudroy came to Guadeloupe in 1690. The son of Armand, Jean Charles de Coudroy, *de l' Ordre royale et militaire de St.<sup>s</sup> Louis*, and Lieutenant Colonel commanding in Guadeloupe, died in 1784, aged 79. This last was a man of large fortune and established three sugar plantations in Guadeloupe. The plantation named Laureál gave its name to the eldest son as Coudroy de Laureál; the sons who owned the other two planta-

tions were, after the same fashion, known as Coudroy de Lillet and Coudroy de Léry.

The de Laureáls were always distinguished in arms. Mr. Charles Leon Coudroy de Lauréal, born in 1762, was an officer in the French navy for many years under the famous Bailli de Suffren. He died in 1792, in the army of the emigrant princes. Mr. Louis de Lauréal, Captain of Zouaves, brother of Mr. Edward de Lauréal, was the first to land at the head of his regiment at the Crimea in 1854 and one of the first to die under the hail of shot.

R. A. BAKEWELL.

ST. LOUIS, July, 1903.

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WE are at the Glasgow hotel, and will leave it the day after to-morrow, as it is too good for our purses. We intended to have gone twenty miles in Illinois to Edwardsville, but have changed our plans, and will go northwest sixteen miles to Florissant, where we are assured game is plenty, and the living quite cheap. \* \* \* The markets here abound with all the good things of the land, and of nature's creation. To give you an idea of this, read the following items: Grouse, two for a York shilling; three chickens for the same; turkeys, wild or tame, 25 cents; flour \$2.00 a barrel; butter, six pence for the best — fresh and really good. Beef, 3 to 4 cents; veal, the same; pork, two cents; venison hams, large and dried, 15 cents each; potatoes, 10 cents a bushel; ducks, three for a shilling; wild geese, 10 cents each; Canvas back ducks, a shilling a pair; vegetables for the asking, as it were; and only think, in the midst of this abundance and cheapness, we are paying at the rate of \$9.00 a week at our hotel, the Glasgow, and at the Planters we were asked \$10.00. — *Letter from Audubon to James Hall, dated St. Louis, March 29, 1843.* 1 Audubon and His Journals 451.

## JOHN SAPPINGTON MARMADUKE.

BY JOHN F. LEE.

(An Address Delivered at a Meeting of the Society, 25 May, 1906.)

John Sappington Marmaduke was born in Saline county Missouri, near Arrow Rock, on March 14th, 1833.

The name "Marmaduke" is said to mean mighty leader. The origin of the family is not distinctly traced. We first find it in Westmoreland county, England, one of the northwestern counties which is generally mountainous in character and well calculated to produce a vigorous race of men. An early record is found of a Sir Miles Meredith Marmaduke, which is the same name as that of the father of the subject of this sketch. It is known that some members of the English family emigrated to Westmoreland county, Virginia, at an early date and remained there until Miles Meredith Marmaduke came to Missouri and settled in Saline county, shortly after the admission of the state into the union, which was in 1820. He engaged in farming but shortly after reaching Missouri went with the first wagon train from Missouri to Sante Fe, and as the country crossed was then in the possession of hostile Indians, the journey was attended with great peril. Notwithstanding this he took part in two other similar expeditions at later dates. He was a man of high character and great influence in the community in which he lived. He was elected Lieut. Governor in 1840, and upon the death of Governor Reynolds in 1844, he succeeded to the office of governor, which he filled with great credit. He married Lavinia Sappington, a daughter of Dr. John Sappington, a native of Maryland, who came to Missouri from Tennessee.

Dr. Sappington, for whom John S. Marmaduke was named, was a practicing physician who enjoyed in a very uncommon degree, the respect, confidence and affection of all who knew him.



JOHN S. MARMADUKE.



The two families of Marmaduke and Sappington united by marriage exercised a controlling influence over the politics of their county, and the memory of this fact has been perpetuated by the painting by General Bingham entitled "The County Election" of which engraved copies have been made in such numbers that it is familiar to thousands; Bingham offered himself as a candidate for the legislature from Saline county against Erasmus Darwin Sappington and as might have been foreseen was defeated. The painting was made in explanation of the artist's defeat and exhibits decided skill. It shows all of the election machinery under the control of the two families who compose also the greater part of the electorate. While it has some exaggeration, it is not a caricature. The figures of the principal parties are resemblances, and Miles Meredith Marmaduke can be easily recognized in the presiding Judge.

Six sons and three daughters of the marriage of Miles Meredith Marmaduke and Lavinia Sappington reached maturity. John was the fourth child and second son. The influence of each of his parents was very strongly felt in the development of his character; he attended the country schools of the neighborhood in which he lived until he went to Yale at the age of seventeen. After spending two years at Yale he went to Harvard. He studied at Harvard one year, when he was appointed to the United States Military Academy, where he was graduated in 1857. He served on frontier duty in the First United States Mounted Riflemen under Col. Loring, and later in the 7th United States Cavalry under Col. Albert Sidney Johnston in Utah.

At the opening of the civil war he suffered the conflict of emotions which tore so many men when called on to decide to which side their duty called him, but the promptitude with which he acted and the circumstances under which he reached his decision were characteristic of him, and showed that those qualities were his by inheritance. He was at his father's home at the time and sought the

advice of his father at this critical moment of his career. The latter listened patiently to a full statement of his son's feelings, and when he had finished said simply: "John go up stairs and change your uniform." The first of that momentous conflict was the firing on Fort Sumter, April 12th, 1861, and five days later he resigned his commission.

Immediately after resigning he joined the Missouri State Troops and served as Colonel. On the 17th of June following he was brought in contact with the Federal Troops at Boonville. Col. Marmaduke believed the Confederate Troops were not prepared for a battle under the conditions which then obtained and so expressed himself to his superior officer, Gov. Jackson, but disregarding Marmaduke's opinion Jackson ordered an engagement, which resulted in the defeat of Col. Marmaduke. Shortly after this he resigned his commission and after spending a few weeks at home, went to Richmond and tendered his services to the Confederate Government. He was commissioned Lieut. Colonel and assigned to the Staff of Gen. J. W. Hardee, who was at Pocahontas, Arkansas, but after a short service in Arkansas and Missouri he was placed in command of the Third Confederate Infantry and crossed the Mississippi. He took part in all the desperate work around Bowling Green, Kentucky, at Fort Donelson and the retreat to Corinth.

The Battle of Shiloh is generally recognized as one of the decisive battles of the Civil War, and there are many who believe that had the outcome been otherwise the result of the war might have been changed. The Confederate forces were under the command of General Albert Sidney Johnston, Marmaduke's old Commander in Utah. The evening before the battle, which was to begin at dawn on April 6th, the Confederate forces were ranged in battle order and the Commanding General, attended by his staff, rode down his lines to review them. General Hardee had command of the first division, General Hindman of the second, and Marmaduke was in command of Hindman's Brigade, which formed part of the second division. General John-

ston spoke words of encouragement and exhortation to the respective commands as he passed them]but when he reached Marmaduke, who was stationed in front of his command he halted his body guard, rode up to Marmaduke and grasping his hand with that feeling of comradeship which one intrepid spirit feels for another when confronted by a heroic enterprise, only said: "Marmaduke, I know you will do your duty." He recognized that Marmaduke needed no urging to do his best. He had the great Commander's fullest confidence and Marmaduke's conduct on the bloody field next day proved how well he deserved that confidence.

The accounts of the results of the first day's fighting at Shiloh are very conflicting. How far the Confederate forces drove back the Federals, and what was the confusion in the Federal Camp, is a matter of widely differing opinions and probably will never be definitely settled. One view is that the Federals were broken and had retired near the river, were only saved from flight by General Johnston's fall, when General Beauregard assumed command he felt so sure of receiving a surrender of the Federal forces the next day that he ordered a cessation of hostilities for the day, and the arrival of General Buell with fresh forces reversed the fortunes of the day. General Marmaduke was wont to say that on his advance he entered a tent where a meal for Federal officers was set out, but had been left behind untasted. It must be remembered that the opposing Commander was General Grant, whose glorious career records no surrender and the splendid army which he led was capable of supporting great reverses with unbroken spirit. It is certain the second day's fighting resulted in a disastrous Confederate defeat.

For his distinguished services on the field at Shiloh, Col. Marmaduke was made a Brigadier General.

He took a conspicuous part as a Division Commander at the Battle of Prairie Grove. General Hardee in his report said that Marmaduke had apparently not been confirmed as Brigadier General, but that if the authorities

had witnessed his valor at Shiloh and Prairie Grove, the honor would not be delayed.

After the retreat of the Confederates from Shiloh, General Hindman was assigned to command the entire forces west of the Mississippi River, and holding Marmaduke's military services in the highest esteem he urged Marmaduke to accompanying him to that field of action. The invitation was accepted.

The history of all the Confederate leaders, save those who died before the result of the conflict was decided, is necessarily a history of defeat. The resources of the Confederacy were not large enough to maintain the army of Northern Virginia, the army east of the Mississippi and a third army west of the Mississippi in the highest state of efficiency. The two first armies were considered at Richmond as of more vital importance than the army west of the Mississippi, and the interests of the latter were consequently sacrificed to the other two.

Gen. Marmaduke made excellent use of the means at his command. He took part in a number of engagements with varying success. He was present at Springfield, Hartville and Cape Girardeau. He defeated the federals at Taylor's Creek, but failed in an attack on Helena for want of proper support. During General Price's defence of Little Rock, Marmaduke commanded the cavalry of the army and formed its rear guard, which was mentioned in the report as "Skillfully handled and behaved admirably." His attack on Pine Bluff was repulsed. He made a skillful disposition of his troops and a four days fight at Elkin's Ferry and Prairie d'Ane. He was successful in a brilliant action at Poison Spring and at Jenkin's Ferry his services were important. For his part in these campaigns he was commissioned a Major General, but did not receive his commission until the closing days of the Confederacy.

In May and June of 1864, he was stationed on the Mississippi and had a creditable encounter at Lake Village with Gen. A. J. Smith.

He commanded one of the three Divisions led by Gen-

eral Price in the Missouri raid in 1864, and rendered distinguished services at the Battle of the Little Blue, where two horses were shot from under him while he was attempting to stem the onset of the enemy's forces. In the fierce battle of October 22, 23 and 25, 1864, at Marais des Cygnes, while guarding the rear, his command was overwhelmed. He was made a prisoner, carried to Fort Warren and held there until August, 1865.

After his release he took a journey to Europe for his health.

In May, 1866, he returned to Missouri and established the commission house in St. Louis of Marmaduke and Brown. It met with immediate success, but the details of business were not congenial to him and he left that business to become Superintendent of Southern Agencies for the Life Association of America, which position he retained for about two years. He then brought out the "Journal of Agriculture of St. Louis" and remained its Editor from 1871 to 1874, when he was appointed to the State Board of Agriculture.

Between the years 1875 and 1880 he was a member of the Railroad Commission of Missouri. He was elected Governor of this State and took office January, 1885. He died in the Executive Mansion December 27th, 1887, before the expiration of his official term.

He was in height above six feet, well formed with broad shoulders carried well thrown back. His neck was strong and the head well placed upon it. The head was round, the face oval, the cheek bones not high, the brow well marked, the nose prominent and aquiline, the mouth small, lips delicate, chin and jaw strongly marked, the hair light brown cut short and parted in the middle and in later life worn off the temples, a slight mustache of the same color, complexion ruddy, forehead white, eyes a clear blue which looked darker when the brows were gathered. His hands were small and beautifully formed, soft as a woman's but his grasp was firm. His carriage was very erect. He walked with a full easy stride and as his soldierly figure

passed, you could almost hear the clank of saber and spurs. He sat a horse superbly and managed him with grace. Accustomed to riding from his youth he seemed to be proof against fatigue from that form of exercise. In early life his figure was spare. It was fuller in his last years but he was never heavy or unwieldy. An officer who served on the union side in the civil war, speaking of General Marmaduke, when a young man said; he had never seen so military a looking man.

None of the pictures of him were satisfactory to those who knew him well. Probably the best is the oil painting by John Reed which was painted for the Executive Mansion. The photographs generally seen of him exaggerate the expression of firmness and make the face look harder than it should.

It has been truly said that some men have one sort of courage, some another. It may be said of General Marmaduke that he had courage in every phase, at all times, under all circumstances. A courage which was equal to any crisis, or danger in any form.

His integrity was unquestionable. He not only never did a dishonest thing, but he was never tempted to do it. Subtle distinctions between the right and wrong were very distasteful to him and he had the quality of distinguishing at a glance that which was entirely right from what was questionable, and he embraced one and turned from the other without a moment's hesitation when the choice between them was presented to him.

He came out of the southern army a penniless man, and when not long thereafter he was appointed to the office which he held under the insurance company, and was receiving an income of between \$8,000.00 and \$10,000.00 a year, he became satisfied that some of the practices of the insurance company were not strictly honest, and though he was not called upon in his office to do or sanction anything of which he did not approve nevertheless, without hesitation, and because of these questionable prac-

tices of the company, he gave up the office. He followed this course throughout his life.

He did not value money and he spent it with a free hand when he had it. As long as it lasted he was ready to give it to any one who had either his affection or his sympathy. His views of the value of money were greatly at variance with the commercial spirit of the present day. Whether a man succeeded in accumulating a fortune, or not, had not the slightest effect upon the estimate he made of that man's success in life. On one occasion he remarked that generally his old soldiers had done well in life. As this expression is commonly used with reference to the accumulation of worldly goods, the gentleman to whom he was speaking said, his experience with the General's soldiers had been rather to the contrary. General Marmaduke looked at him with genuine surprise and said, without any feeling of irritation, or with any purpose of giving a rebuke: "Why they have raised respectable families, they are men of weight in their communities, and are highly esteemed." He had not noticed their financial condition.

He was a man of strong affections and hearty dislikes. If he disliked a man he wanted to have nothing to do with him in any relation of life. If he liked him he was very apt to love him and he trusted his friends implicitly. He was a most loyal friend and never lost an opportunity of advancing the interests of a friend although he was ever careless of his own interests.

When in the army he was very solicitous for the welfare of his officers and men, and when wounded on the second day of the battle of Shiloh, he did not go to the hospital until he had hunted up one of his officers who had been wounded, to learn the extent of the latter's injuries.

He was a cheerful companion, easily moved to laughter and had a hearty, ringing laugh which added much to the gayety of his presence. It was none the less hearty when he was the subject of the jest.

Notwithstanding his university education he cared little

for books, he took his lessons from life and the enjoyment he derived from social intercourse with his friends was great. His bearing towards woman was very chivalrous and he was a great favorite with them. There was in his attitude towards them a respect and protection which was very winning. He passed a portion of one summer in the hotel at Sweet Springs, Missouri. The adjoining town of Brownsville had been visited the year before by a severe cyclone. One evening a terrific wind storm arose and as it increased in fury it seemed to threaten the coming of another disaster like that of the year previous. The hotel was a frame building and in the large parlor there were seated about fifty persons of all ages and both sexes. Apprehension was seen on every face but there was nothing approaching a panic. Whilst the storm was at its highest, one of the doors opened and General Marmaduke strode into the room, apparently unconscious of any danger. As he reached the middle of the room a lovely young girl who had been nearly terrified to death but had remained perfectly quiet, seeing him seemed to think he could afford her protection, and rising from her seat without a word and although she knew him very slightly as her father's friend, walked up to him, put her head upon his shoulder and burst into tears, tears of relief that she had found safety. The stalwart soldier, the clinging girl, the raging storm, the subdued sitters about the room made a picture not soon to be forgotten. His presence seemed to reassure everybody and coincident with his coming the storm began to abate.

He never married, but he had felt the deepest and tenderest feelings of the human heart.

He was very indifferent to what are generally called personal comforts. He kept but a very few clothes and those of the simplest character. They were all he wanted. It was amusing and at the same time a pathetic sight to see him pack his trunk. The packing consisted of throwing any such articles of clothing as were nearest his hand into the trunk in the order in which he reached them. His mili-

tary life had accustomed him to wearing boots, and his boots were generally the first thing one saw on top of everything else when his trunk was opened, but always in that trunk, wherever he went, was a packet of letters addressed to him in a female hand in faded ink which told a story he only knew.

No memorial of General Marmaduke would be complete which did not mention his duel with General Walker, both because it has been so much talked of, and because for many years it was so imperfectly understood.

In one of the battles near Little Rock General Marmaduke was hotly engaged and he sent to General Walker, his superior officer, for reinforcements. The reinforcements were not sent and there is yet some uncertainty as to what was exactly done by General Walker when he came upon the field. The relations between a general and the officers of his staff are of peculiar confidence and freedom, they are the members of his official family. It is established that a member of General Marmaduke's staff later informed two members of the staff of General Walker, that Marmaduke had accused Walker of cowardice on the day mentioned. Correspondence followed which resulted in the duel. It was fought before sun-rise, the principals were placed at fifteen paces, General Marmaduke was so near-sighted that he was unable to see his opponent with anything approaching distinctness, but while being placed he had the coolness to notice that certain weeds were in line between him and General Walker, and in firing he aimed at them. General Walker was mortally wounded. The best account ever given of the duel is probably that of Col. Robert H. Crockett, who was General Walker's second on the occasion. It is said Col. Crockett never made a statement of the unfortunate occurrence until 1889, when General Marmaduke had for more than two years been dead. In that statement Col. Crockett says: "I desire to say, and right here, that while I loved General Walker as one man rarely loves another, I had the highest respect for General Marmaduke as a gallant soldier and

chivalrous gentleman". We may accept this as the last word and find whatever excuse we may for the unfortunate man whose indiscretion in repeating what he had heard under circumstances which bound him to secrecy was the cause of this very deplorable event.

General Marmaduke was a candidate for the governorship of Missouri in 1880, but he entered the field when the canvass of his rivals for the nomination was practically completed and it was too late for him to draw to his support his friends, who were to be found all over the state. He bore his defeat so manfully that it made him many friends, and when the canvass for the governorship opened in 1884, he entered the lists.

The governorship had been the object of his ambition ever since the war closed his military career, not only that he wanted it, himself, but it had always been his mother's desire that one of her sons should hold the office their father had held.

General Marmaduke was without money and it was soon apparent that the party machine was against him. When his chances were still very much in doubt a gentleman called upon him and offered the assistance of this gentleman's friend, a man who had a very powerful political influence but he was a man whose part in politics General Marmaduke believed was an influence for evil. He did not do as many would have done, temporize, or accept such an aid intending not to be swayed by it when in office, but he said in his quiet, resolute way, "I want to be governor but I don't want to be governor by that man's help." When the election of delegates began to be held it became apparent that Marmaduke would sweep the state, not by the aid of any clique or the ring, but, as he said in his inaugural address, "In spite of its potent and persistent opposition."

He entered upon the duties of his office without any pledge other than that imposed upon him by his oath. There was great interest felt throughout the state as to how the man who had been looked upon as merely a soldier

would perform his executive duties. No one doubted his integrity or his courage, but it was feared that his well known love for and confidence in his friends might lead him to appoint men to duties which they were unqualified to perform, and here the greatest surprise of his career awaited the public. It is true he never expected to find the qualifications for office in any but his friends, yet he showed the soundest judgment in selecting his appointments, and he was inflexible in his purpose to subordinate private interests to the public good. As a result his administration was eminently successful and unattended by any scandal.

He never kept an applicant for office in any uncertainty as to what his action would be. If he intended to reject an applicant he would begin his answer with "No." He would say: "No, I will not appoint you to that office," but he would give no reason unless asked for one, and then he gave the real reason. A gentleman to whom he was warmly attached, and of whom he had a very high opinion, and whom he intended to appoint to an office, applied, to him for a different office. Marmaduke replied: "No, I can't appoint you to that office." "Why?" inquired the friend, "because", he said, "I have a man who I think will perform its duties better than you could." This simple and direct method instead of alienating his friends, was received at first with some amusement which gradually settled down to the conviction that it was the best way for him to act and gave less pain in the end.

It was a motto of General Marmaduke's: "When you quarrel with a man and he leaves you, unless you think you are in the wrong, don't go after him. If he is a good man he will find out his mistake and come back to you, and if he is a bad man, you are well rid of him," I do not know how this method tried by most men would succeed, but it succeeded admirably with him.

He cared very little for appearances. He was absolutely truthful and anything which even savored of insincerity was foreign to his nature. He wanted to know the real right or wrong of a matter; as soon as he did he was ready

to act. He believed that the legislature which met in 1887 ought to pass legislation which would effectually control the railroads. The railroads had sufficient influence to prevent the passage of an act at the regular session and the legislature adjourned without action. Governor Marmaduke promptly summoned the legislature, as under our constitution he had power to do, to a special session and committed to them the question of railroad legislation. As there was a majority of six or more in the Legislature opposed to railway legislation, they thought at first the issue was in their hands, and it was proposed that the legislature again adjourn without action. He announced if they adjourned he would call another session, and continue to call sessions until the legislature acted. Such course of action had never been known in Missouri and I doubt if it had its precedent in the United States, but when Governor Marmaduke announced his purpose there was not a man in the state who doubted he would carry it out.

It was a time of great political excitement. The railroads believed the proposed legislation would inflict incalculable injury upon them, and the Missouri-Pacific, which generally acted for the other railroads in questions of this sort, sent their general counsel John C. Brown, to Jefferson City to do what he could to defeat legislation. Now it happened that Mr. Brown who had been a Major General in the Confederate Army, Governor of Tennessee, and was for many years a warm personal friend of Governor Marmaduke's. They were now the leaders on rival sides of the question at issue, but Gov. Marmaduke insisted that if General Brown came to Jefferson City he should while there be his guest at the Executive Mansion; he did not think it becoming to him that his friend should stay anywhere else. General Brown at first protested that it might expose Gov. Marmaduke to the imputation of being influenced by the railroads, but he found Gov. Marmaduke was absolutely indifferent as to this, and it was a singular tribute to Gov. Marmaduke's honesty and firmness that no

one thought it more than an amusing incident, and one that was very characteristic of him. It was recognized that if any change of opinion took place between the two it would be on the part of General Brown.

Finally the Governor had his way and the Legislature with its one hundred and forty members passed a bill which was entirely satisfactory to him, and from that day to the present there has been no railroad question in Missouri.

During Gov. Marmaduke's administration we had the first great railroad strike in this country, known as the Martin Irons Strike, which extended from St. Louis to Texas and paralyzed the operations of the greatest railroad system in the Southwest. Gov. Marmaduke's first position was that the law must be observed and there must be no violence. It was understood he meant it. So complete was the organization of the strikers that the railroads could find no men to operate their trains. They were disposed to say that they had the men but the rioters were able to prevent the movements of trains by violence. Gov. Marmaduke soon settled that question. He believed the men had some cause of complaint. He went to see the chief officers of the railroad, insisted that these should be righted and his views were met. He promised the necessary protection to trains and it thereupon became apparent the railroads did not have the men. They were very soon secured and the trains were moved. The strike was broken without the loss of a life, furnishing a strong contrast to troubles of this sort which have been experienced many times in other quarters. The passage of the railroad legislation and the outcome of the strike, established on a firm basis Gov. Marmaduke's reputation as a firm, wise and patriotic executive. Thereafter his administration passed on without anything to threaten or disturb its success.

His constitution of iron had enabled him through life to violate with impunity the rules of health, but exposure to the severity of the season in December, 1887, brought

on an attack of pneumonia from which he died on the 27th of that month.

He met death with the same fortitude with which he had faced it on so many fields of battle. From all quarters of the State there came recognition of his public services and expressions of sorrow for his loss, and the universal sentiment was that Missouri never had a better Governor.

To-night, more than nineteen years after his death, when the greater number of those who took part in the great scenes through which he passed have gone before or followed him, he is still remembered with affection by many who are still living. The memory of his high qualities and great virtues make them feel that they are happier, better men for having known and loved John S. Marmaduke.

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“THE CHARACTERISTICS of St. Louis, in 1827, which first struck me, were the muddiness of the streets—the badness of the hotels—the numbers of the Creole-French, speaking the French language—working on the Sabbath—a floating population of trappers, traders, boatmen and Indians—and finally, an absence of paper currency. These were all very distinctive; and in truth, St. Louis had very little of the Anglo-American character. *Rowdyism* was the order of the day—the predominating influence of the street population of Indian traders and other northwestern adventurers. These men, in *outré* dresses and well armed, were as characteristic in their department as sailors; exhibiting the independence, confidence and recklessness of their wild and lawless way of life.”—Philip St. George Cooke. *Scenes and Adventures in the Army*.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE ATTACK UPON  
ST. LOUIS IN 1780.

I.

(CANADIAN ARCHIVES<sup>1</sup> SERIES B. VOL. 97 PT. 22. PAGE 290).

MICHILIMACKINAC, 17th Feby. 1700.

SIR:

Since my letter of the 15th inst. the arrival of an Indian Chief personally acquainted with me, affords me an opportunity, earlier than I expected, of ordering Mr. Hesse, a Trader and a man of Character, (formerly in the 60th Regt) to assemble the Minomines, Puants, *Sacks & Rhennards*, in the *neighborhood* and to take *Post* at the Portage of the Ouisconsings & Foxe's Rivers, there to collect all the Cannoes and Corn in the Country, for his own and for the use of the Nations higher up, who will be ordered to join him at the confluence of the Rivers Mississippi and Ouisconsing. Mr. Hesse is ordered not to move from his first stand untill I send him Instructions by Serg't Phillips of the 8th Regt. who will set out from this on the 10th of March with a very noted Chief Machiquawish and his band of Indians. For want of a Cypher, and to assist the Sergeant, I am unwillingly obliged to send a *Private* of the King's Regmt., a Highlander, writing in that language to the Brigadier.

The Reduction of *Pencour*, by surprise, from the Easy admission of Indians at that place, and by Assault from those without, having for its defense, as reported, only 20 men and 20 brass Cannon, will be less difficult than holding it afterwards. To gain both these ends, the rich furr Trade, of the Missouri River, the Injuries done to the Trad-

<sup>1</sup> For this and the following documents from the Canadian Archives the Society is indebted to Dr. A. G. Doughty, Archivist.

ers who formerly attempted to partake of it, and the large property they may expect in the Place will contribute. The Scious will go with all dispatch as low down as the Natches, and as many intermediate attacks, as possible, shall be made. We will endeavor a system and connection in directing their operations to the Service in view. I have only to add that, I am with the greatest respect

Sir

Your Excellency's

Most obedt & Most humble Servt.

PATT SINCLAIR

Lt. Govr. of Michilmackinac.

General Frederick Haldimand.

P. S. I have told Mr. Hesse and all the Traders to observe strict economy, I have assured them that any pecuniary advantages they may deny themselves in making all the same compleat preparations, shall be amply made up to them in a better and surer way.

## II.

(CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B. VOL. 97, PT. 2, PAGE 349)

SIR:—

Your excellency was informed by my letter of February last, that a party was to leave this place on the 10th of March to engage the Indians to the Westward in an attack on the Spanish & Illinois Country—seven hundred and fifty men including Traders, Servants, and Indians proceeded with them down the Mississippi for that purpose on the 2nd day of May.

During the time necessary for assembling the Indians at *La Prairie du Chien*, Detachments were made to watch the River to intercept craft coming up with Provisions and to seize upon the People working in the lead mines. Both one and the other were effected without any accident.

Thirty-six Minomies (at first intended as an escort)

have brought to this place a large armed Boat, loaded at Pencour, in which were twelve men and a Rebel Commissary.

From the Mines they had brought seventeen Spanish and Rebel Prisoners, and stopp'd Fifty Tonns of Lead ore — and from both they obtained a good supply of Provisions. The Chiefs Machiquawish & Wabash have kindled this spirit in the Western Indians.

Captain Langlade with a chosen band of Indians and Canadians will join a Party assembled at Chicago to make his attack by the Illinois River, and another Party are sent to watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi.

I am now in Treaty with the Ottawas about furnishing their quota to cut off the Rebels at Post St. Vincents, but as they are under the management of two chiefs, the one a Drunkard & the other an avaricious Trader, I meet with difficulties in bringing it about — Thirty Saginah Warriors are here in readiness to join them, and the Island Band can furnish as many more.

The Enclosed Papers will show your Excellency the arts practised on the Indians by the Rebels and French emissaries.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your excellency's most obedient  
and most Humble Servant

PATT SINCLAIR

Lt. Govr.

MICHILIMACKINAC

29th May 1780.

P. S. Serjt. Phillips of the 8th Regmt who has my warrant to act a Lieut. during your Excellency's Pleasure, will garrison the fort at the entrance of the Mississippi. Captain Hesse will remain at Pencour, Wabasha will attack Misere and the Rebels at Kacasia — Two vessels leave this on the 2nd of June to attend Machiquawish who returns by

the Illinois River with Prisoners. The small Vessels remain at Milwaké with some Provisions after visiting the Pottawatimis side of the Lake to give the Allarm expected at St. Joseph's, at least by Chevalier.

All the Traders who will secure the Posts on the Spanish side of the Mississippi during the next winter have my promise for the exclusive Trade of Missouri during that time — and that their Cannoes will be forwarded.

The two Lower Villages are to be laid under contribution for the support of their different garrisons, and the two Upper Villages are to send Cattle to La Bay to be forwarded to this place to feed the Indians on their return.

A part of the Minomimis who are come here, some Phants, Sacks and Rhenards go away immediately to watch the Lead Mines. Orders will be published at the Illinois for no person to go there, who looks for receiving Quarter — and the Indians have orders to give none to any without a British Pass. This requires every attention & support being of the utmost consequence.

Endorsed.

From Lieut. Govr. Sinclair Commanding at Michilimackinac of the 29th of May. Recd. by express (St. Germain) 11th of June with several enclosures.

### III.

(CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B. VOL. 97, PT. 2. PAGE 568.)

Information of a William Brown, Native of Ireland twenty four years in America formerly settled amongst the People called White Boys.

That he was taken Prisoner by the Winipigoes, within three hundred yards of the Lines lately thrown round a Stone House at Pencour.

He came into that Country from Pensacola where he had been employed in the King's Works as a Carpenter. He hunted one year at the Natches and the Spanish Post Oyach, he had been at Orleans before Mr. Clark's Expe-

dition, and from thence he went to the English settlement Concord.

The arrival of the Rebels and the destruction of that settlement engaged him to return to Oyach, from whence he went up to the River Ohio to hunt (Venison salted being a species of Provisions much used in that Country) & from that to Post St. Vincents on the Wabash where he found Lt. Governor Hamilton—who, he says engaged him to hunt for his Garrison, his arrival at that Post was only two days before Mr. Clarke invested the Place. With him he entered as a Volunteer against the Shawnesse and afterwards deserted and went to Misere on the West side of the Mississippi and remained there until March last in which month he arrived at Pencour where a Spanish Captain and and fifty men were in Garrison about the latter end of March John Conn a Trader, went down the Mississippi with the report of an attack against the Illinois by that route. He carried with him Two hundred Weight of Gun Powder, some Blankets, Strouds and Silver work. Upon the arrival of Conn the Trader, the Spaniards began to Fortify Pencour. The report was afterwards confirmed by a French woman who went down the Mississippi. Then the Post at the entrance of the Missouri was evacuated and the Fort blown up, all the out Posts called in, and the Videttes of their Cavalry (for all are mounted excepting the Garrison) were placed round the Village of Pencour. A platform Cannon with a Parapet were thrown over a Stone House, an Intrenchment thrown up and scouts sent out. Two days before the British Detachment appeared before Pencour Colonel Clark and another Rebel Colonel, we believe named Montgomery, arrived at Pencour, it was said with a Design to concert an attack against Michilimackinac, but whether with that design or to repel the expected attack by the Mississippi it was agreed that one hundred from the West side, and two hundred men from the East side should be equip'd and in readiness to march when ordered. We believe Clarke and Montgomery to have been in the Village of Cahokia when

the Indians were beat of. We saw Bentley who made his escape from Montreal between the Cahokias and Cahokime in April and bought steel traps from him.

N. B. Colonel Montgomery, or some Rebel officer is killed with a Private of the Rebel troops who wore a Bayonet marked 42nd Regt. and three Frenchmen whose scalps are all brought in. They imagined that no others were killed at the Cahokias as they filed off early to a rising ground lower down the river than the village, in which all the Rebels were concealed within a Stone House and could not be drawn out. Indeed few stratagems were used owing to Canadian Treachery.

N. B. The woman mentioned was wife to a Mons' Honore who went out last year with a pass from Major Depeyster. He is an European Frenchman.

N. B. In the Spanish Intrenchment numbers were killed as the Indians occupied a ground which commanded the greatest part of it and made several feints to enter it in order to draw the Spaniards from such parts of the works as afforded them cover. Thirty three scalps were taken on the West side and about Twenty four prisoners, blacks, and white people.

A great number of Cattle were killed on both sides the River and the Inhabitants were very much spared by all the Indians excepting the Winipigoes and Scioux.

They only scalped five or six who were not armed for the Defence of the Lines.

#### IV.

(CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B. VOL. 97, PT. 2. PAGE 449.)

QUEBEC, 10th August, 1780.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 8th ultimo covering Brown's Information and Reporting the return of the Vessels sent into Lake Mishigan and the Service rendered by them to the party retiring from the Illinois, & likewise the

attacks made upon Pencour & Cachokias and the cause of their being unsuccessful. It is very mortifying that the Protection Monsr Calvé & others have received should meet so perfidious & so ungrateful a Return — the Circumstances of his and Monsieur Du Charmes Conduct — you are best acquainted with, & to you I leave to dispose of them as they deserve. If you have *evident proof* of their counteracting or retarding the operations committed to their Direction, or in which they were to assist, I would have them sent Prisoners to Montreal, in all events they are improper Persons to remain amongst the Indians, and I imagine you will think it necessary to remove them. Their influence with the Natives, unless employed for the King's interests, must be dispensed with, and that there is no doubt that the Indians will soon be reconciled to whoever may be appointed to supply their wants.

I am glad to find that altho' our attempts proved unsuccessful, they were attended with no inconsiderable loss to the enemy.

You will find the Captive Artificers very useful at present, my letter of this date will authorize you to employ them.

After the removal of the two interested or disaffected Traders, I hope you will find the management of the Indians less troublesome and more satisfactory. I hope no accident will happen to Wabasha. His and the Conduct of his Nation merit distinction.

Your intention of discriminating I am persuaded will have a good effect, and I hope the operations of the En-suing Campaign will discover it.

I approve much of your having engaged the three men as Couriers between your Post and Niagara — it will open an expeditious communication between those Posts and this part of Canada when the men are not out you can employ them otherwise.

I am sir &c &c.

(signed) FRED HALDIMAND.

Lieut Govr.

Sinclair.

## V.

(CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B. VOL. 97, PT. 2. PAGE 389.)

From Lieut Governor Sinclair

8th July Reed 22nd.

No. 1.

Concerning Mr Calvé'  
enclosing *his* letter.

SIR:

I have the honour to inform your excellency that the two vessels sent into Lake Michigan are returned. They fortunately carried from this a Force sufficient to enable the Party retiring from the Illinois by Chicago to pass with safety through a Band of Indians in the Rebel Interest — and to embark in security — some in canoes & some on board the vessels. The others retired in two Divisions, one by the Mississippi with Monsieur Calvé, who allowed the Prisoners taken by the Sacks and Outagamies to fall into the hands of the enemy. The other Division penetrated the Country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi & are arrived here with their prisoners.

Two hundred Illinois Cavalry arr'd at Chicago five days after the vessels left it. On the 26th of May Mr. Hesse, with the Winipigoes, Scioux, Ottawa, Ochipwa, Iowa, and a few of the Outgamies, Sacks, Mascoutins, Kicapous and Pottowatomies

Twenty of the Volunteer Canadians sent from this, & a very few of the Traders and Servants made their attack against Pencour and the Cahokias. The two first mentioned Indian Nations would have stormed the Spanish Lines, if the Sacks and Outagamies under their treacherous leader Monsr Calvé, had not fallen back so early, as to give them but too well grounded suspicions that they were between two Fires. A Monsr Ducharme & others who traded in the Country of the Sacks kept pace with Monsr Calvé in his perfidy — they have long shared the

Profits arising from the Lead Mines, and from a Commerce with the Illinois.

The Attack unsuccessful as it was, from misconduct & unsupported, I believe by any other against New Orleans, with the Advances made by the Enemy on the Mississippi, will still have its good consequences. Many of the Indians are entered & many are rivitted in our Interest. The Traders who would not assist in extending their Commerce cannot complain of its being circumscribed to necessary bounds. And the Indians who received a profusion of Presents, without Distinction will now be discriminated.

The Winipigoes had a Chief and three men killed & four wounded, I fear one of them mortally. They are the only sufferers.

The Rebels lost an officer and three men killed at the Cahokias & five Prisoners. At Pencour sixty eight were killed & eighteen Blacks and White People made Prisoners. Amongst whom several good Artificers. Many hundreds of Cattle were destroyed and Forty three scalps are brought in. There is no doubt can remain from the concurrent testimony of the Prisoners, that the enemy received Intelligence of the meditated attack against the Illinois, about the time I received a copy of My Lord George Germain's circular letter. A like Disaster cannot happen next year, & I can venture to assure your excellency that One Thousand Scioux without any mixture from neighboring Tribes, will be in the Field in April under Wabasha (if no accident happens to him) His Interpreter Monsieur Rogue is a thorough honest man, & both have conceived the necessity for a profound Secrecy, as well as the design & manner of executing it. In order to avoid the bruited reports of Couriers, & the Curiosity and suspicion they always excite in traversing such an Extent of Country, every thing was settled with Wabash here, and his wants were supplied principally by the timely arrival of the King's Cannoes. Sixty Winipigoes and a Party of Indians from the West side of Lake Michigan are sent to Cross the Roads leading from the Rebel Posts, on the Ohio and Wabash, to the Illinois,

to cover Captain Bird of the 8th, who may be encumbered with Artillery, & to intercept convoys of Provisions or Parties of the Rebels occasionally in motion from either Quarter.

From this to the close of Harvest, small Parties will be sent from here in that direction. I have hired for a year three men who undertake to carry Expresses from Niagara to this Post, in ten or twelve days in which your Excellency may think a preferable Route to that by Detroit, for such matters as may require secrecy or dispatch.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your Excellency's obedt &

Most humble Servant

PATT SINCLAIR

84th Regt.

MICHILIMACKINAC

8th July 1780.

P. S. No accident happened to any of the Indians, or other in retiring. Monsr Ducharme permitted two profligate frenchmen who were in his charge as Prisoners, to go to the Illinois—numbers of that stamp are brought in from the Indians with their consent & approbation and the whole are ordered in Mr Anises, call Interpreter here, is sent to bring in the Crew from St. Joseph's, Mons. Chevallier is his uncle, & will come in, I believe through favor and compulsion, if he is not encouraged to stay there.





*P. L. Corré*

VI.

INTERVIEW OF L. C. DRAPER WITH PASCAL LEON CERRÉ,<sup>1</sup>  
ST. LOUIS, OCT. 1846.

From Draper Collection of Clark MS. in Wisconsin State Historical  
Society Library.

Attack on St. Louis, May 1780. Jean Mariè Ducharme, a native of Sault St. Louis, nine miles above Montreal, and opposite La Chine, was an early Indian trader in the West. He was a British subject, and in 1779, stole by a small Spanish garrison then at the mouth of the Missouri river, and pushed up that stream, and wintered during the the ensuing cold winter on the southern bank of the Missouri, opposite to Ducharme's island [and I think Mr. Cerré said some twenty miles above Jefferson City, L. C. D.] There his goods were seized by the Spaniards and confiscated; Ducharme was trading with the Missouri Indians. It was in revenge for this that Ducharme got up the expedition of 1780.

Mr. Cerré thinks there were not more than two or three Frenchmen with Ducharme, his whole force being made up of Indians (about four hundred, not to exceed that number), composed of Sauks, Foxes, Winnebagos, Menomenes (and doubtless, Sioux) gathered around Prairie du Chien and the upper rivers of that country, passing down Fox river, etc., to St. Louis, in canoes.

At a place fourteen miles above St. Louis they left their

<sup>1</sup> Pascal Cerré, the only son of Gabriel Cerré, was born at Montreal, 11 April, 1773. Gabriel Cerré, who had lived at Kaskaskia since about 1755, removed with his family to St. Louis in 1779. Pascal Cerré married in St. Louis, 17 February, 1797, Thérèse Lami. In 1798 he bought lots at the southwest corner of Third and Plum streets where he resided many years. He died at St. Louis, 9 May, 1849. He had two sons and one daughter; the daughter, Catherine, married Pierre Didier Papin, the younger son, Michael Sylvestre, was one of the captains of Bonneville's expedition, and died in 1860, while sheriff of the county of St. Louis. Two of Pascal Cerré's sisters were married in St. Louis; Thérèse to Auguste Chouteau, and Julie to Antoine Soulard.

canoes, and as they approached the object of their attack, Ducharme divided his men into two detachments, one of which he himself headed and came down on the east side of the river. The other detachment took down on the west side of the river and posted themselves in ambush along the roads leading from St. Louis to the other settlements.

At this time St. Louis was commanded by Col. Leyba. The date of the attack was 20th. of May (perhaps the 16th.) and on a Monday.

At the first alarm, just about mid-day, and many of the people at their dinners, a man ran through the town crying "to arms!" "to arms!" and the people jumped from their tables greatly alarmed. The alarm gun was shot from the tower to warn the people who were at work out in the fields, and the women and children out after strawberries. Many of these were shot by the Indians secreted in the bushes by the road-side as they were fleeing to the town. Some of the Indians were quite near the town and killed one man between the big mound and the town. One French cart filled with these poor people put on the whip to their horses; seven of them were wounded as they passed the ambushed Indians, but they all got in.

No recollection of any shooting out of the houses at the Indians; thinks they did not expose themselves to be shot at.<sup>1</sup> No recollection about a chief being killed as represented by Wm. Darby, but will not pretend to say it was not so.

<sup>1</sup> In Edward's Great West, p. 489, appears the following: "There was a female, who afterwards became the school-mistress of the village, who when the savages made the attack, put on a coat, and buttoning it well up to her chin, and armed with a pistol in one hand and with a knife in the other, took her station at one of the gates, encouraged the men to make a valliant defence, and fearlessly exposed her person to the fire of the savages. This feat of courage dubbed her as a female warrior, and ever after she had the reputation of a heroine."

The woman referred to was Marie Josepha Rigoche, wife of Ignace Rigoche. She was thirty-six years old in 1780. In the census of 1791 she appears as "Mad<sup>e</sup> Rigoche Viuda." There were no gates to the village in 1780; they were of later date. (W. B. D.)

The attack lasted only that afternoon; doubts if as many as sixty or seventy of the people were killed, but is not at all certain about it.

Ducharme's party, with some of their long and large bored muskets, fired over the river and actually made some of their balls rattle on the roofs of the houses in St. Louis, but the people did not attempt to return the fire; they had to watch the other, nearer and more dangerous foe. Mr. Cerré, though he knows nothing about it, thinks it very likely that Ducharme's party went down to Cahokia.

Louis, a negro, who afterwards was the property of Gabriel Cerré, was among the number caught out of St. Louis. He was chased by an Indian with gun and tomahawk, who rapidly gained on the negro. He looking over his shoulder and seeing the Indian very close to him with tomahawk upraised, concluded there was but one chance for him, and that was to fall prostrate upon the ground. He threw himself flat upon the earth and, as he hoped, the Indian, unable to suddenly check his speed, stumbled over him, and in the fall dropped his gun; this Louis quickly seized and before the Indian could recover himself Louis shot him and brought in the gun as a trophy of victory.

Another negro, on another road, was mortally wounded and ran off and hid himself in a sink-hole not far from the path. A dog with him, kept with him until after his death, when, as was supposed, his hunger forced him to leave and go to town. The dog belonged to Mons. Cerré; and for three days successively the dog howled and would start off in the direction of the sink-hole. At length, M. Cerré, from such unusual indications, sent a person to follow the leading of the dog and was soon led to the dead negro.

The Indians took seven negroes prisoners; five belonged to M. Cerré. These latter were returned the next July by the Indians of their own accord from regard for their master or owner. The others were never recovered.

No other prisoners taken.<sup>1</sup> No Indians killed. The Indians now returned to their canoes and made the best of their way home. M. Ducharme retired after the war to his native place, Sault St. Louis, and there died after 1791, when M. Cerré saw him, then aged.

<sup>1</sup> In Hunt's Minutes, there is the testimony of Jean Baptiste Riviere dit Baccaué that he was taken prisoner and carried to Chicago from whence he escaped. (W. B. D.)

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SINCE this part of the continent became subject to the flag of the United States, the city of St. Louis, overrun by the speculative New Englanders, has begun to spread over a large extent of ground on the bank of the river, and promises to become one of the most flourishing cities of the West. A new town has in fact sprung up by the side of the old one, with long well built streets and handsome rows of warehouses, constructed of excellent grey limestone, quarried on the spot. The inhabitants of French extraction, are however still numerous, both in their part of town and in the neighboring villages; and it is amusing to a European to step aside from the hurry and bustle of the upper streets, full of pale scheming faces, depressed brows, and busy fingers, to the quiet quarters of the lower division, where many a characteristic sight and sound may be observed. Who can peep into the odd little coffee-houses with their homely billiard tables—see those cosy balconies and settees,—mark the prominent nose, rosy cheek, and the contented air and civil demeanor of the males, and the intelligent eye and gossiping tongue of the females—listen to the sound of the fiddle, or perchance the jingle of a harpsicord, or spinnet, from the window of the wealthier *Habitant*, crisp and sharp like a box of crickets—without thinking of scenes in the provinces of the northern country. — Charles J. Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America*.

## THE MISSOURI-SANTA FE TRADE.

The following are re-published from the *Missouri Intelligencer*, which was published at Franklin, Missouri. They appeared in that paper, respectively, on 3 September, 1822, and 22 April, 1823. The Society has had frequent requests for copies of these articles, and for that reason it has been decided that they be here re-printed.

### FROM THE SANTA FE EXPEDITION.

About three months since a number of persons, principally of this county, forming two parties, one under the direction of Colonel Cooper, and the other of Capt. Becknell, left here for Santa Fe, upon a trading expedition. The former party preceded that of the latter several days, and we regret to learn, by the following extract of a letter from a gentleman of respectability, at Fort Osage, to his friend in this place, that it has met with a serious disaster.

“Fort Osage, Aug. 20th,

“It is reported that Col. Cooper’s party were robbed by the Indians, and left in a starving condition. The news came here by Gen. Atkinson, from the Council Bluffs. Mr. Immell, of the Missouri Fur Company, who had been out with a party, brought the information to the Bluffs. The party of Col. Cooper had sent to Mr. Immell for relief, who was not in a situation to afford them any — and they must either have arrived at Santa Fe before this or perished. The presumption is, that if they were not deprived of their guns and ammunition they could be able to live; consequently, their being left, as the report says, in a starving condition, implies that they were robbed of the means of procuring necessary food.

“I am inclined (exclusive of the reports coming from so

correct a source) to believe that it is true, as Mr. Glenn, who came in from Santa Fe some weeks ago, stated that he met Col. Cooper's party at the Big Bend of the Arkansas, and he had no doubt they would fall in with several war parties of Indians in a few days, who would rob and probably kill them, as he had been stopped by the same Indians, and with difficulty got clear of them, and had he not have had an interpreter would doubtless have shared a similar fate—Cooper being without an interpreter, will render his traveling through the country extremely dangerous. I mention this in order that you may let their friends know the source from whence the news came, and will vouch that which I have stated is correct (as it was told me by Gen. Atkinson) in every essential particular.

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A company of about fifty persons, principally from St. Louis and its vicinity are now in town on their way to Santa Fe. Their purpose is to hunt and obtain furs. We wish them greater success than has fallen to the lot of those mentioned above.

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JOURNAL OF TWO EXPEDITIONS FROM BOON'S LICK TO  
SANTA FE.

The following is the journal of Capt. William Becknell, of two expeditions from Boon's Lick to Santa Fe, in the Empire of Mexico, which we long since promised our readers. It is an unvarnished relation of circumstances, and perhaps may not present the reader with that entertainment and gratification of his curiosity which his fancy may anticipate—Considering, however, that national views are strongly turned towards the occupation of the territory adjacent to the mouth of the Columbia River, and that this tour embraces a part of the route; that individual enterprise is again inducing many of our worthy

citizens to push their speculations into the same quarter, and that probably new scenes of adventure will appear and new sources of wealth be opened beyond the promise of these little beginnings, we trust the subject will excite an interest separate from the bare statement of facts, and carry the mind to contemplation of future results and benefits. It will open a free intercourse, acquaint us with the soil, climate and peculiarities of the interior of that interesting country, and give a new, unexplored & profitable source of trade to Missouri. The adventurous enterprise and hardy habits of this frontier people will soon penetrate beyond the mountains, compete for trade on the shores of the Pacific, and investigate the advantages of that immense country, which extends to the South. It is pleasing also to observe the great change which republican ideas and institutions have already effected in that country. Monarchy bound in chains and threw into prison all those of our unfortunate countrymen whom accident or business brought within its reach; while republicanism extends the hand of friendship & receives them with the welcome of hospitality. The one did not wish its people to be informed by an intercourse with those of other nations, because it would enable them to comprehend the wickedness, corruption, folly and illiberality of its administration; while the other cheerfully affords the means of diffusing intelligence, knowing that it contributes to the happiness of its people, the prosperity of its institutions and the permanence of its government. The circumstance, also, of taking WAGGONS over an untraced wilderness of nearly one thousand miles, is a novel one, and will impress distant readers with an idea of the boldness and activity of their western brethren.

## JOURNAL.

“ Our company crossed the Missouri near the Arrow Rock ferry on the first day of September, 1821, and encamped six miles from the ferry. The next morning being

warm and cloudless, we proceeded on our journey over a beautiful, rolling prairie country, and traveled 35 miles, crossing the Petit Osage Plain, which is justly accounted one of the most romantic and beautiful places in the State. The traveler approached the plain over a very high point of adjoining prairie; suddenly the eye catches a distant view of the Missouri on the right, and a growth of lofty timber adjoining it, about two miles wide. In front is a perfectly level rich and beautiful plain of great extent, and diversified by small groves of distant timber, over which is a picturesque view of nearly twenty miles. On the left it is bounded by a branch of the La Mine river, which is handsomely skirted with timber; while still further in this direction the view is bounded by the fanciful undulations of high prairie. Description cannot do justice to such a varied prospect, or the feelings which are excited in beholding it. This being about the time of equinoctial storms, we suffered some inconvenience for two or three days on account of rains and a cool and humid atmosphere. Arrived at Fort Sage, we wrote letters, purchased some medicines, and arranged such affairs as we thought necessary previous to leaving the confines of civilization. The country for several days travel from Fort Osage is very handsomely situated, being high prairie, of exceeding fertility; but timber, unfortunately is scarce. On the Fourth day after leaving the Fort, I was taken sick in consequence of heat and fatigue induced by chasing two elks, which we had wounded the day before, but which had strength sufficient to elude our pursuit. Some others of the company complained of illness about this time but determined not to surrender to trifles, or indulge in delay, until it became absolutely necessary, we continued to travel slowly.

On the 20th we crossed the main Osage, being nearly all sick and much discouraged. It rained severely, and we were under the necessity of stopping to dry our baggage. On the second day after crossing the Osage, we saw many buffaloes, one of which we killed; we also saw several

goats; but they were so sharp sighted and wild that we could not shoot them. This day we encamped on the waters of the Arkansas, after traveling over much uneven prairie, almost entirely covered with flint rock. About this time we encountered two days incessant rain. We halted in a small grove to refresh ourselves, rest our horses and wash our clothes. — We sent out two hunters who killed a deer, and saw some goats and large herds of buffaloes. Late in the evening of Monday the 24th, we reached the Arkansas, having travelled during the day in sight of buffaloes, which are here innumerable. The Arkansas about this place is about three hundred yards wide, very shallow, interrupted by bars, and confined by banks of entire sand, — the water has every appearance of being as muddy as that of the Missouri; we, however, crossed one of its branches whose waters were limpid and beautiful, and which was one hundred yards wide a mile from its mouth. We gave this the name of Hope Creek. These streams afford no timber except a few scattering cottonwoods. It is a circumstance of surprise to us that we have not seen Indians, or fresh sign of them, although we have traversed their most frequented hunting ground; but considering their furtive habits, and predatory disposition, the absence of their company during our journey, will not be a matter of regret. The next day we crossed the Arkansas at a place where it is not more than eighteen inches deep, and encamped on the south bank. We left our encampment early the next morning, and about noon came to a large settlement or town of prairie dogs, which appeared to cover a surface of ten acres. They burrow in the earth, are of a dark brown color, about the size of a pup five or six weeks old, which they nearly resemble in every respect except the ears, which are more like those of the opossum. Having a desire to taste its flesh, I killed one, a small part of which I roasted, but found it strong and unpalatable. Their sense of hearing is acute, and their apprehension of danger so great that the least noise of approach frightens them to their holes, from which they make continual and

vehement barking until a person approaches within fifty or sixty yards of them; they then take to their holes, with their heads elevated above the ground, and continuing barking until the approach is very near, when they disappear instantaneously. They often sit erect with their fore legs hanging down like a bear. We found here a ludicrous looking animal, perfectly unknown to any one of our company, it was about the size of a racoon, of a light gray color, had uncommonly fine fur, small eyes, and was almost covered with long shaggy hair; its toe nails were from one and one half to two inches in length; its meat was tender and delicious. We also killed one of the raobit species as large as our common fox; it was of a gray color, but its ears and tail were black. It exhibited an agility in running a short distance after it was shot which exceeded anything of the kind we had ever witnessed. We regret the deficiency of our zoological information, which prevents our giving a more scientific and satisfactory accounts of those animals.

The evening of the 28th brought us to some very high hills for this country, composed entirely of sand, which had been in sight all day, exhibiting at a distance a luminous or whitish appearance, and entirely destitute of vegetation. We encamped here, substituting buffalo manure for fuel. Our lodging was very uncomfortable, in consequence of being exposed to torrents of rain, which poured upon us incessantly till day. The next morning we started early and killed a buffalo for breakfast, proceeded again on our journey. At about one o'clock found ourselves on the celebrated salt plain of the Arkansas. It was about one mile wide; its length we did not ascertain. Its appearance was very different from the idea I had formed from the several descriptions which I had seen. This, however, might have been owing to the late heavy rains, that had covered the earth three inches deep with water, which we found to be a strong brine. Under the water was an apparent mixture of salt and sand; and in dry weather I have no doubt the appearance of salt would be much greater.

So far as the eye can reach on every side, the country here appears alive with buffalo and other animals.

About this time we saw five wild horses, being the first we had seen. They had the appearance at a distance, of being fine large animals. Some difficulties now presented themselves, especially the scarcity of food for our horses, and timber for fire.

A continual and almost uninterrupted scene of prairie meets the view as we advance, bringing to mind the lines of Goldsmith:

“ Or onward where Campania’s plain forsaken, lies  
“ A weary waste, extending to the skies.”

The immense number of animals, however, which roam undisturbed, and feed bountifully upon its fertility, gives some interest and variety to the scenery. The wolves sometimes attack the buffaloe; and whenever an attack is contemplated, a company of from ten to twenty divide into two parties, one of which separates a buffalo from his herd, and pursues him, while the others head him. I counted twenty-one wolves one morning in a chase of this kind.

We still continued meandering the Arkansas, but travel very slowly in consequence of the continued ill health of some of the party. Our horses here for the first time attempted to leave the encampment; and one strayed off which we never saw afterwards.

The water of the river is here clear, although the current is much more rapid than where we first struck it. Its bed has gradually become narrower, and its channel consequently deeper. The grass in the low lands is still verdant, but in the high prairie it is so short that a rattlesnake, of which there are vast numbers here, may be seen at the distance of fifty yards; they inhabit holes in the ground.

On the 15th we discovered a lake, which had every appearance of being strongly impregnated with saltpetre. Our horses having become very weak from fatigue and the unfitness of their food, we encamped three days to re-

cruit them and dress some skins for mocasins; during which time we killed three goats and some other game.

On the 21st we arrived at the forks of the river and took the course of the left hand one. The cliffs become immensely high, and the aspect of the country is rugged, wild and dreary. On the evening of the 23rd, we heard the report of a gun, which is the first indication of our being in the neighborhood of Indians.

As yet we have encountered no difficulty for water, but have been destitute of bread or even salt for several weeks. On the 26th we saw large flocks of mountain sheep, one of which I killed. It had long thick hair; its color was of a dirty blue, with a very fine fur next the skin; a black streak extended from its head to its tail, which is short, and of a lighter color than the body; its rump and hams were very similar to those of our domestic sheep.

We had now some cliffs to ascend, which presented difficulties almost insurmountable, and we were laboriously engaged nearly two days in rolling away large rocks before we attempted to get our horses up, and even then one fell and was bruised to death. At length we had the gratification of finding ourselves on the open prairie; and two days travel brought us to the Canadian fork, whose rugged cliffs again threaten to interrupt our passage, which we finally effected with considerable difficulty.

Nov. 1st, we experienced a keen northwest wind, accompanied with some snow. Having been traveling about fifty days, our diet being altogether different from what we had been accustomed to; and unexpected hardships and obstacles occurring almost daily, our company is much discouraged; but the prospect of a near termination of our journey excites hope and redoubled exertion, although our horses are so reduced that we only travel from eight to fifteen miles per day. We found game scarce near the mountains, and one night encamped without food or water.

On the fourth, and several subsequent days, found the country more level and pleasant — discovered abundance of

iron ore, and saw many wild horses. After several days descent towards Rock River, on Monday, the 12th we struck a trail, and found several other indications which induced us to believe that the inhabitants had here herded their cattle and sheep. Timber, consisting of pine and cottonwood, is more plentiful than we have found it for sometime.

On Tuesday morning, the 13th, we had the satisfaction of meeting a party of Spanish troops. Although the difference of our language would not admit of conversation, yet the circumstances attending their reception of us, fully convinced us of their hospitable disposition and friendly feeling. Being likewise in a strange country, and subject to their disposition, our wishes lent their aid to increase our confidence in their manifestations of kindness. The discipline of the officers was strict, and the subjection of the men appeared almost servile. We encamped with them that night and the next day about 1 o'clock, arrived at the village of St. Michael, the conduct of whose inhabitants gave us grateful evidence of civility and welcome. Fortunately I here met with a Frenchman, whose language I imperfectly understand, and I hired him to proceed with us to Santa Fe, in the capacity of an interpreter. We left here early the next morning. During the day passed another village named St. Baw, and the remains of an ancient fortification, supposed to have been constructed by the aboriginal Mexican Indians. The next day, after crossing a mountainous country, we arrived at Santa Fe and were received with apparent pleasure and joy. It is situated in a valley of the mountains, on a branch of the Rio del Norte or North River, and some twenty miles from it. It is the seat of government of the province; is about two miles long and one mile wide, and compactly settled. The day after my arrival I accepted an invitation to visit the Governor, whom I found to be well informed and gentlemanly in manners; his demeanor was courteous and friendly. He asked many questions respecting my country, its people, their manner of living etc; expressed a

desire that the Americans would keep up an intercourse with that country, and said that if any of them wished to emigrate, it would give him pleasure to afford them every facility. The people are generally swarthy and have a state of extreme indolence and ignorance. Their mechanical improvements are very limited and they appear to know little of the benefit of industry, or advantage of the arts. Corn, rice and wheat are their principal productions; they have very few garden vegetables, except the onion which grows large and abundantly; the seeds are planted nearly a foot apart, and produce onions from four to six inches in diameter. Their atmosphere is remarkably dry, and rain is uncommon, except in the months of July and August. To remedy this inconvenience, they substitute with tolerable advantage, the numerous streams which descend from the mountains, by damming them up and conveying the water over their farms in ditches. Their domestic animals consist chiefly of sheep, goats mules and asses. None but the wealthy have horses and hogs. Like the French they live in villages; the rich keeping the poor in dependence and subjection. Laborers are hired for about three dollars per month; their general employment is that of herdsmen and to guard their stock from a nation of Indians called Navohoes, who sometimes murder the guards and drive away their mules and sheep. The circumstance of their farms being wholly unfenced, obliges them to keep their stock some distance from home. The walls of their houses are two or three feet thick, built of sun-dried brick, and are uniformly one-story high, having a flat roof made of clay, and floors of the same material. They do not know the use of plank, and have neither chairs nor tables, although the rich have a rough imitation of our settee, which answers the treble purpose of chair, table and bedstead.

My company concluded to remain at St. Michael, except Mr. McLaughlin and we left that village December 13, on our return home in company with two other men who had arrived there a few days before, by a different route. At

the time we started the snow was eighteen inches deep, but the quantity diminished as we reached the high lands, which we thought an extraordinary circumstance. On the 17th day of our journey we arrived at the Arkansas and thence shaped our course over the high land which separates the waters of that and the Caw rivers. Among the Caw Indians we were treated hospitably, purchased corn from them, and in forty-eight days from the time of our departure reached home, much to our satisfaction. We did not experience half the hardships anticipated on our return. We had provisions in plenty, but Boreas was sometimes rude, whose unwelcome visits we could not avoid, and whose disagreeable effects our situation often precluded us from guarding against. We had, however, but one storm of snow or rain on our return, but were sometimes three or four days without a stick of timber. In such exigencies we again had recourse to buffalo manure, which is a good substitute for fuel, and emits great heat.

Having made arrangements to return on the 22nd day of May, 1822, I crossed the Arrow Rock ferry, and on the third day our Company consisting of 21 men, with three wagons, concentrated. No obstacle obstructed our progress until we arrived at the Arkansas, which river we crossed with some difficulty, and encamped on the south side. About midnight our horses were frightened by buffalo, and all strayed—28 were missing. Eight of us, after appointing a place of rendezvous, went in pursuit of them in different directions and found eighteen. Two of this company discovered some Indians, and being suspicious of their intentions, thought to avoid them by returning to camp; but they were overtaken, stripped, barbarously whipped and robbed of their horses, guns and clothes. They came in about midnight, and the circumstance occasioned considerable alarm. We had a strong desire to punish these rascally Osages who commit outrages on those very citizens from who they receive regular annuities. One other man was taken by the same party to their camp, and probably would have shared like treatment

had not the presence of Mr. Chouteau restrained their savage dispositions. He sent word to me that he had recovered the horses and guns which had been taken from our men, and requested me to come on the next morning and receive them. On our arrival at his camp we found it evacuated, but a short note written on bark instructed me to follow him up the Autawge river. This we declined thinking that his precipitate retreat indicated some stratagem or treachery. These Indians should be more cautiously avoided and strictly guarded against than any others on the route.

Mr. Heath's company on the same route joined us here. The hilarity and sociability of this gentleman often contributed to disperse the gloomy images which very naturally presented themselves on a journey of such adventure and uncertainty. After six days of incessant fatigue in endeavoring to recover all our horses, we once more left our camp, and after traveling eight days up the Arkansas, struck a South-west course for the Spanish country. Our greatest difficulty was in the vicinity of Rock river, where we were under the necessity of taking our wagons up some high and rocky cliffs by hand.

We arrived again at St. Michael in 22 days from the Arkansas. We saluted the inhabitants with 3 rounds from our rifles, with which they appeared much pleased. With pleasure I here state, that the utmost harmony existed among our company on the whole route, and acknowledge the cheerfulness with which assistance was always rendered to each other. We separated at St. Michael for the purpose of trading more advantageously. Some of the company, among whom was Mr. Heath, remained there, and others I did not see again until my return. On our return we took a different course from that pursued on our way out, which considerably shortened the route, and arrived at Fort Osage in 48 days.

Those who visit that country for the purpose of vending merchandise will do well to take goods of excellent quality and unfaded colors,—An idea prevails among the people

there, which certainly is a very just one, that the goods hitherto imported into their country, were the remains of an old stock and sometimes damaged. A very great advance is obtained on goods and the trade very profitable; money and mules are plenty, and they do not hesitate to pay the price demanded for an article if it suits their purposes, or their fancy. The administration of their government, although its form is changed, is still very arbitrary, and the influence which monarchy had on the minds and manners of the people still remains, which is displayed by the servility of the lower orders to the wealthy.

An excellent road may be made from Fort Osage to Santa Fe. Few places would require much labor to render them passable, and a road might be so laid out as not to run more than thirty miles over the mountains.

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“NONE of the actors in those scenes can fail to recur with some pleasure, to the gayeties of 1827–8 at Jefferson Barracks. One of the regiments was in cantonment on the south side of the first hill; a quarter of a mile further on, another, the 6th infantry, was encamped; on the crest of the next hill, were extensive stone barracks in progress; and still lower down, on its southern declivity, were encamped the first infantry; some staff and other officers, with their families, were in huts in various detached situations. Two of the regiments had, a few months before, arrived from a remote outpost. \* \* \* On the 8th of January, the 1st gave a splendid ball in an unfinished barrack; a noble display of flags was above and around us, with hundreds of bright muskets with a candle in the muzzle of each. Many from St. Louis were there; and Louisville, too, had several beautiful representatives.” — Philip St. George Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army.*

## THE CASE OF POURÉE AGAINST CHOUTEAU.

The documents here reprinted are among the records of the St. Louis Circuit Court. The remaining records of cases tried in the time of the Spanish Domination are comparatively few in number, but of great interest. Upon the organization of the American Courts, it would seem that these records were little valued, and no great care taken for their preservation. Many papers, and in some instances the complete files of cases have disappeared. Recently the court has ordered that those remaining be classified, arranged and bound into volumes in order to insure their preservation. And, from time to time, those of general interest will be published in these COLLECTIONS.

In preparing the present case for publication, it has been thought desirable to give it in the original languages, as well as in a somewhat free translation. No rule was observed in the Spanish Courts in Missouri requiring the use of the Spanish language. The parties used their native tongues, and in some cases we find Spanish, French and English. And it was so largely with the Lieutenant Governors (lieutenants to the governor at New Orleans). Cruzat always uses Spanish; Trudeau, his successor, uses Spanish generally, French occasionally, Delassus who succeeded Trudeau, makes use, in most cases of French. Demers, the hussier, makes his returns in the French language only; his successor, Mariano Izaguirre, who describes himself as "*Sargento Segundo de la Tropa*" (second sergeant of the troops) uses only Spanish.

No references have been found in any of the records by which the system of law administered can be determined. There seems to be no doubt, however, that in Missouri the customs of Paris continued to govern, except as changed by special orders.

Lefebvre and Labusciere who came to this side of the river

in 1765, were lawyers, but Lefebvre died in April, 1767, and in 1781 or 1782 Labusciere recrossed the river and died at Cahokia, 29 April, 1791. There is no lawyer mentioned in the census of 1787, which gives the occupation of each inhabitant, and none are mentioned in the records of cases. It seems safe to say, therefore, that there were no practising lawyers in what is now Missouri from the departure of Labusciere until the transfer of the country. Many of the citizens were educated men and no doubt had a practical knowledge of the laws which qualified them to arrive at just decisions when called upon to act as arbitrators.

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A Monsieur Don Francois de Cruzat, Lieutenant Colonel d'infanterie, Lieutenant Gouverneur et Commandant en chef de la partie Occidentale des Illinois.

Monsieur :

Eugene Pourrée à L'honneur de vous exposer tres Respectueusement, qu'il auroit armé un Bateau à la Nlle Orleans, le 22 Mars dernier, dans lequel il à mis à fret des effects pour divers particuliers (aux conditions ordinaires de la marine) ayant été attaqué à la riviere des yasoux par un party d'anglais, il fut obligé de descendre aux Natchez l'a, il fut contraint d'augmenter les gagés des Engagés pour leurs faire continuer le voyage (il convint avec eux en presence de Mr. de Grand Pré), ils partirent après cette convention à la compagnie de deux Bateaux (Les Sieurs Alvarés et Vallé) pour continuer le voyage.

Etant à la Riviere St. François ils firent recontre du Bateau du Sr. Labbadie quil venoit d' Etre pris et Pillé aux ecors a Margot, instruit par lui du dangers qu'il y avoit à continuer le voyage, ils resolurent de Rellacher aux Arkansas, pour eviter de retomber entres les mains de ces Brigants, ce qui auroit été indubitable s'ils eussent continué route, arrivé au dit poste el Loua pour le compte des chargeurs un magasin dans Lequel il fut dechargé le cargaison du Bateau, et fut obligé de congedier son equipage.

Quelques temps après ils surent que les Brigants qui

etoit aux ecors s'etoit retiré dans le nation Chikachas; voyant le deperissement de la cargaison dans ce porte, il resolut de faire un second armement pour le faire il fut obligé de faire descendre d'icy une partie de son equipage et de prendre l'autre aux Arkansas, il fit embarquer tous les Effets qu'il avoit dechargés, persuadé que les affraiteurs ne feroit aucune difficultés de payer chaqu'un à proportion de ce qu'il avoit dans le Bateau.

Mais quelle à Eté la surprise du suppliant, après avoir travaillé comme il à fait, pour la conservation de la ditte cargaison, de voir le sieur Chouteau Refuser de Rentrer pour sa côte part dans les fraix du dit armement, ignore til qu'un navirequi est obligé de desarmer (je dis desarmer) en route par force majeure, les affraiteurs sont obligés de payer au maitre les fraix en entiere, comme si le navire avoit fait son voyage et si le maitre fait un second armement; les affraiteurs sont obligés de payer les fraix à proportion de ce qu'ils ont dans le navire, ou?, veut-il eluder par les faux arguments un payement qui est Dû si legitimentement au suppliant, C'est pourquoy Monsieur, le suppliant à Recours a votre justice, pour qu'il vous plaise d'ordonner au sieur Chouteau, de payer sans delay sa part des sus dits fraix ce sera justice.

St. Louis, le 7 9bre, 1782.

*Lugene pour rég*  
*L*

Etat des fraix j'ai faits depuis mon Rellache aux Natchez après que j'ai été attaqué à la Riviere des Yasoux.

Sçavoir.

Payé à des Chachtas pour faire la decouverte  
j'usqu'à la riviere des yasoux, pour le conserva  
tion du Bateau,

|                                                                                                                                 |             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Payé à des arkansas quils sont venus avec nous jusqu'à la riviere St. Francois, où nous avons reluchez aux arcs,                | 430         |
| idem pour une maison Louée aux Arkansas, pour servir de magasin pour la cargaison du Bateau                                     | 75          |
| idem 150 voyages de charettes pour le charge et decharge du bateau a l 5                                                        | 187.10      |
| idem 2 hommes que j'ai gardés pour avoir soin de la cargaison,                                                                  | 180         |
| idem 10 hommes que j'ai fait descendre des Illinois pour former l'armement des Arkansas icy 9 hommés à 45 piastres et un à 53 P | 2290        |
| Idem 12 hommes engagés aux Arkansas pour completer l'equipage à 50 Piast. Chaque, 3000 lb                                       |             |
| Pour le Patron,                                                                                                                 | 500 3500    |
| Idem 1700 lb de Bisquit aux Arkansas a 28 Piast, Le%                                                                            | 2380        |
| Idem 800 lb de Lard, 200 aux Arkansas, et 600 lb que j'ai fait descendre d'icy a 25 sols                                        | 1000        |
| Idem 3 Barils de Grû a 17 lb                                                                                                    | 51          |
| Idem 5lbs de poudre et 17 lbs Balles donne aux Illinois aux 10 hommes quils sont descendres                                     | 87          |
| Idem 6 lb de poudre et 12 lb balles aux autres                                                                                  | 102         |
|                                                                                                                                 | 189         |
|                                                                                                                                 | 10687.10    |
| Suite et montant de L'autre Part                                                                                                | 10687.10    |
| 4 thiercons de taffia pour L'Equipage a 80 piastres                                                                             | 1600.       |
|                                                                                                                                 | 12287 lb 10 |
| il y avoit dans le Bateau le vailleure de 112 Bariques, de Sorte que chaq <sup>e</sup> B/que doit payer 109 lb, 14 s. 1 d.      |             |

Sinifiguese el presente Memorial a Dn Augustin Chouteau para que responda a su contenido.

S<sup>a</sup>Luis de Illins. 14 de Nov<sup>r</sup>1782.

Cruzat.

Notifié la presente a M. Auguste Chouteau Parlant a sa  
personne en son Domicile pour Repondre a son contenu.

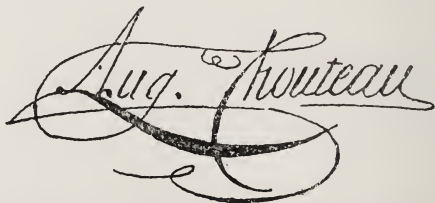
A St. Louis le 14 9<sup>bre</sup> 1782.

Demers hss.

Monsieur Don Franco Cruzat Lieutenant Colonel Gradue, du Regiment d'Infanterie de Grenadiers, de la N<sup>elle</sup> Orleans, Commandant en Chef et Lieutenant Gouverneur de la partie occidentale des Illinois.

Monsieur.

Le Deffendeur a l'honneur de vous exposer tres respectueusement que Messieurs Lioto et favre Negt de la Nouvelle Orleans luy auroit addressé par Mr. Bosoleil cent vingt tierçons de tafia dont ils ont payé le fret sur le lieu (ainsi que le porte le Reconnaissance) en vertue de quoy le suppliant ne croit pas etre dans le cas de payer un second fret a Mr. Bosoleil pour avoir désarmé aux arcs, et fait und second armement, comme il le dit dans sa requette; le Deffendeur vous supplié Monsiur de vouloir observer que cela feroit grand tort aux affréteurs que defrayé deux fois le fret d'une pacotille embarquer dans un Bateau dont le fret déjà été payé avant qu'il sort Du port, cest pourquoy Le Deffendeur espere Monsieur, que vous voudrés Bien de debouter Monsieur Bosoleil des ses Demande se faisant, vous ferai Droit, a St. Louis, le 14 9<sup>bre</sup>, 1782.



Visto: Seordena à Dn Eugenio Purre y a Dn Augustin Choteau nombren cado uno un arbitro para que de aguerdo con un tercero que se nombrará por este Tribunal decidan y determinen definitivamente esta causa — segun el derecho de cada parte, y hagaseles saber este Decreto. Sn Luis de Ilins, 14 de Nov<sup>o</sup> de 1782.

Cruzat.

Notifié la presente aux parties, parlant a leur personne  
en leur Domiciles a St. Louis des Illinois de 14 9<sup>bre</sup> 1782.

Demers hss.

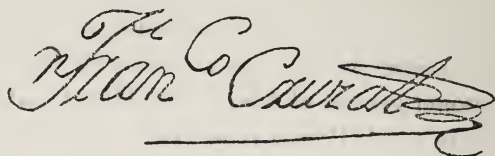
Nous arbitres sous signés només par les parties et assemblés le quinze de Novembre dix sept cent quatre vingt deux par ordre de Monsieur François de Cruzat, Lieutenant colonel gradué et Lieutenant Gouverneur de la partie occidentale des Illinois et ses Dependencies pour Juger les Differents entre Monsr Eugene Pouré Dit Beausoleil marchand, maitre de Batteau, demandeur, et Auguste Chouteau, commettant pour messieurs Lioto et favre negociants a la Nouv<sup>le</sup> Orlean affreteurs et defendeurs, après avoir oui Les parties et Leurs Declarations, concidere leurs Demandes, et visité leurs comptes, nous avons, unanimement opiné après mure Deliberation que les affreteurs ne devoient payer pour fret et port de chaque Barique a eux appartenante et chargée sur le Batteau de Monsieur Beausoleil a la Nouv<sup>le</sup> Orlean, que sieze livres quatre sols quatre deniers en sus du fret accordé a ce dernier Dans le dit Lieu suivant conventions reciproques pour augmentation De Frets faits pendant le tems de Sa Detention seulement aux arks et faits indespensablement pendant La route du d<sup>t</sup> Sieur Beausoleil pour la conservation Des effets contenus Dans Le dt. Batteau.

*Mr. Lapin*

*Bento Varquoz*

*Cerré*

Vistos: Seordena a D<sup>a</sup> Eugenio Purre y D<sup>a</sup> Augustin Choteau se conformarse a la Decicion antecedente dada pour los Arbitros nombrados, y hagaseles saber. S<sup>a</sup> Luis de Ilins, 16 de Nobiembre de 1782.



Notifie le presente aux parties parlant a leur personne en leur Domicile faisant La dt declaration, et sentence cy dessus. Fait a St. Louis des Illinois le 16 9<sup>bre</sup> 1782.

Demers, hss.

To Mr. Francis de Cruzat, Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Western part of the Illinois.

Sir:

Eugene Pourré<sup>1</sup> has the honor to make known to you, very respectfully, that he equipped a bateau at New Orleans the 22d of March, last, in which he received freight for several persons subject to the ordinary conditions of carriage by water. Having been attacked at the Yazoo

<sup>1</sup> Eugene Pouré is one of the few Missourians who has a place in the school reading books. Our children are there told of one of his adventures with Mississippi river pirates, which may be true, but it is stated to have occurred in 1787, whereas Pouré died in 1783. His name first appears in the St. Louis Archives as a party to an instrument which was executed 3 June, 1767. Whence he came is unknown. The people of that time frequently stated the place of their nativity in their wills, but he did not do so. Pouré, was an active man; besides being captain of militia, he was as this case shows, a merchant and a ship master. He also owned several pieces of real estate in and near St. Louis. His home was on Market street in the west half of block 60 east of the Court House. In 1781, leaving St. Louis 2 January, he led a party of sixty-five militia men and sixty Indians across what is now the State of

River by a party of English, he was compelled to descend to Natchez, where he was constrained to increase the wages of his employees in order to have them continue the voyage (he agreed with them in presence of Mr. de Grand Pré.<sup>1</sup>) They departed after that agreement in company with two bateaux (of Messrs. Alvarez and Vallé<sup>2</sup>) to continue the voyage.

Illinois and captured the British post of St. Joseph in Michigan. He raised there the Spanish flag and took formal possession of the post and its dependences and of the river of the Illinois in the name and on behalf of the King of Spain. The British flag captured at the post, he brought back to St. Louis and delivered it to Governor Cruzat. He made his will before Pedro Oliver, Lieutenant of the stationary regiment of Louisiana and Commandant *ad interim* of the "Pueblo de San Luis," 5 January, 1783, and was buried in the old Second Street Cemetery 30 April, 1783. His widow Maria Josepha Godeau was his sole heretrix, they having no children. She continued his business of carrier of goods on the Mississippi for several years. Her name appears among the witnesses in a law suit in 1787; after that no trace of her can be found.

<sup>1</sup> "Don Carlos de Grand Pré was a Frenchman who held important positions in the Spanish service. In 1779, he aided Galvez in his capture of British Florida, and was left by the latter in command of the port at Baton Rouge. In 1788, he commanded the Natchez District, but made himself unpopular to the American inhabitants, whereupon he was superseded by Gayoso de Lemos. Upon the latter's promotion to the governorship of Louisiana, Grandpré was again detailed for Natchez; but on account of the protests of the inhabitants, was removed in favor of Minor. When Louisiana was transferred to the United States, Grandpré was commandant at Baton Rouge. The American inhabitants of the district began a revolt, which Grandpré severely repressed.

Upon the successful revolt of the same province, in 1810, a son of the Commandant was killed while defending the post of Baton Rouge. During the British advance against New Orleans, Grandpré sided with his former enemies, and boarded one of their war ships. His later history is unknown." *Cumming's Tour of the West*; Thwaites' Edition p. 343. Editor's note. From Pourée's statement it would appear that Grandpré was in command at Natchez much earlier than 1788.

Alexander and Gabriel de Grandpré were appointed from Louisiana, third lieutenants in the 44th infantry, 1 March, 1814, and honorably discharged, 15 June, 1815.

<sup>2</sup> Eugenio Alvarez was, according to Billon, born in Madrid, Spain, about 1786, was a Spanish soldier, and came to St. Louis with Piernas in 1770. The census of 1787, gives his age as 37 years, and his occupation as that of merchant. He lived in the house formerly owned by Pourée, on the north side of Market Street, a little West of the middle line be-

Having reached the river St. Francis he met the bateau of Mr. Labbadie<sup>1</sup> which had been captured and pillaged at Margot's<sup>2</sup> bluffs. Instructed by him as to the dangers to be encountered in continuing the voyage, they resolved to put into port at Arkansas to avoid falling into the hands of the brigands, which would undoubtedly have happened if they had continued on their way. Having arrived at that post<sup>3</sup> he rented a warehouse for the account of the shippers in which he stored the cargo of the bateau, and was obliged to dismiss his men.

tween Second and Third Streets. This place was still occupied by his sons in 1821. Alvarez, in his old age, was the king's military store keeper. He died in June, 1816.

Vallé. The Census of 1787, gives no residents of St. Louis by this name. In Sainte Genevieve were Charles Vallé, a farmer, aged 35; Don François Vallé, Sub-lieutenant of Militia, aged 29; Don Jean Baptiste Vallé, farmer, aged 27; Don Charles Vallé, Lieutenant of Militia, aged 36. In Saint Charles, was Charles Vallé, a farmer aged 46. The Vallés of Ste. Genevieve were the largest slave owners in Missouri at that time; Jean Baptiste being the owner of thirty-seven, and François of thirty-nine; both were large producers of wheat, tobacco, corn and salt. The owner of the bateau mentioned by Pouré was probably Don Charles.

<sup>1</sup> Sylvestre Labbadie son of Dominic Labaddie and Anne Beclac, was born, as he testified, in Vigonia in France about 1741. His name appears in the archives of St. Louis for the first time in 1769. He was a merchant, and, in 1773, was associated in business with his future brother-in-law, Joseph M. Papin. He married, 27 July, 1776, Pelagie, the second daughter of Madame Chouteau. He died, 19 June, 1794.

<sup>2</sup> The *Ecores de Margot* were the lower, or fourth, Chickasaw Bluffs. They are situated at the junction of the *riviere à Margot* (now Wolf River) with the Mississippi, where now stands the City of Memphis. The French built there in 1739 Fort Assumption and the Spanish in 1794 built a little below, Fort St. Ferdinand de Barancas.

<sup>3</sup> "The post or town of Arkansaw is about forty-five miles above the entrance of that stream into the Mississippi. This is one of the most ancient establishments in Louisiana, being formed before the beginning of the last century. Its advance has not been in proportion to its duration. It has remained poor and inconsiderable, like all other places where the inhabitants depend upon hunting and trade with savages for their subsistence and commerce. The inhabitants are mostly French, many of them of mixed blood." William Darby, *The Emigrant's Guide*, N. Y. 1818. This post was established by some of Tonti's men in 1686. Laclède is said to have had a warehouse at this place. The town still exists, and is the oldest in the Mississippi Valley.

Sometime afterwards learning that the brigands who had been at the bluffs had retired to the Chickasaw nation and considering the depreciation of the cargo in the port where it was, he resolved to make a second outfit to bring it up. He was obliged to send down from here a part of his equipment and to obtain the other part at Arkansas. He caused to be embarked all of the goods that he had discharged, being persuaded that the shippers would not make any difficulties about paying each one in proportion to that which he had in the bateau.

But what was the surprise of the plaintiff, after having labored as he had done for the preservation of the said cargo, to see Mr. Chouteau refuse to contribute his part in the expense of said equipment. Is he ignorant that if a ship-master is obliged by superior force to lay up on the voyage the shippers are obliged to pay to the master the entire expense just as if the voyage had been completed; and if the master makes a second equipment, the shippers are obliged to pay the expenses in proportion to that which they had in the ship? Or, does he wish to elude by false arguments a payment which is so fairly due to the plaintiff? This is why, Sir, the plaintiff has recourse to your justice; for if it pleases you to order Mr. Chouteau to pay without delay his part of the said expenses that will be justice.

EUGENE POURÉE.

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Statement of the expenses I have made since my putting in at Natchez after I was attacked at the Yazoo river.

Be it known.

|                                                                                                              |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Paid to the Choctaws for reconnoitering to the Yazoo river for the preservation of the bateau                | 405 |
| Paid to the Arkansas [Indians] who came with us to the St. Francis river whence we put in at Arkansas [Post] | 430 |
| <i>idem</i> for a house rented at Arkansas to serve as a storehouse for the cargo of the bateau              | 75  |

|                                                                                                  |       |      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|------|
| <i>idem</i> 150 trips of the carts for loading and unloading the bateau at 1 5                   | 187   | 10   |
| <i>idem</i> 2 men whom I kept to take care of the cargo                                          | 180   |      |
| <i>idem</i> 10 men whom I sent down from the Illinois to man the bateau from Arkansas here—      |       |      |
| 9 men at 45 piastres and one at 53 P.                                                            | 2290  |      |
| <i>idem</i> 12 men engaged at Arkansas to complete the equipment at 50 piastres each             | 3000  |      |
| For the Patron                                                                                   | 500   | 3500 |
| <i>idem</i> 1700 lbs of biscuit at Arkansas at 28 piastres the %                                 | 2380  |      |
| <i>idem</i> 800 lbs of bacon, 200 at Arkansas and 600 lbs which I have sent from here at 25 sols | 1000  |      |
| <i>idem</i> 3 barrels of Groats at 17                                                            | 51    |      |
| <i>idem</i> 5 lbs of powder and 12 lbs balls given at the Illinois to 10 men who were sent down  | 87    |      |
| <i>idem</i> 6 lbs powder and 11 lbs of balls to the others                                       | 102   | 189  |
|                                                                                                  | <hr/> |      |
|                                                                                                  | 10687 | 10   |
| Continuation and brought forward from the other side                                             | 10687 | 10   |
| 4 casks of rum for the men at 80 piastres                                                        | 1600  |      |
|                                                                                                  | <hr/> |      |
|                                                                                                  | 12287 | 10   |

There were in the bateau the value of 112 hogsheads, consequently each hogshead ought to pay 109 lb 14s 1d.<sup>1</sup>

Make known the present memorial to Don Auguste Chouteau, that he may answer to its contents.

St. Louis of the Illinois, 14 November, 1782.

CRUZAT.

<sup>1</sup> The character used by the writer cannot be exactly reproduced in print, but it seems to be the mark for livre—lb. The s is for sols, the d for denier. Treating the unit of account as the livre, the total amount of the claim amounts to something over \$245.

Made these presents known to M. August Chouteau, speaking to him in person in his domicile, that he respond to the contents thereof.

At St. Louis the 14th of September, 1782.

DEMERS, HUISSIER <sup>1</sup>

Mr. Francisco Cruzat Lieutenant Colonel by brevet of the Infantry Regiment of Grenadiers of New Orleans, Commander in Chief and Lieutenant-Governor of the western part of the Illinois

Sir:

The defendant has the honor to make known to you, very respectfully, that Messrs. Lioto and Favre, merchants of New Orleans shipped to him by Mr. Bosoleil one hundred and twenty tierces of tafia for which they paid the freight on the spot (as appears from the receipt) on account of which the suppliant does not believe that he ought to pay a second freight to Mr. Bosoleil for having laid up at Arkansas and made a second equipment, as he says in his petition. The defendant prays you, Monsieur, to please observe that it would be a great wrong to shippers to have to pay a second time the freight upon a venture embarked in a bateau, upon which the freight had already been paid before it left port. Wherefore the defendant hopes, Monsieur, that you will dismiss the claim of Mr. Bosoleil; so doing you will do right. At St. Louis, the 14th November, 1782.

AUG<sup>te</sup> CHOUTEAU.

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Having examined the foregoing, it is ordered that Don Eugenio Pouré and Don Auguste Chouteau each name an arbiter who shall choose a third whom they shall name for this tribunal which shall finally decide and determine this cause according to the right of each party; and make this decree known to them.

CRUZAT.

<sup>1</sup> François Demers, was buried in the church cemetery 17 July, 1786. His age was 74 years. *Huissier* is the name of an office similar to that of Marshal or Constable. Demers held the office in 1779, perhaps earlier.

Made these presents known to the parties, speaking to them in person in their domiciles. At St. Louis of the Illinois, the 14th of November, 1782.

DEMERS, HUISSIER.

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We the undersigned arbiters named by the parties, having assembled the fifteenth day of November seventeen hundred and eighty two, by order of Mr. Francis de Cruzat, Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet, and Lieutenant-Governor of the western part of the Illinois and its dependencies, to judge of the controversy between Mr. Eugene Pouré called Beausoleil, Merchant, Master of a bateau, plaintiff, and Auguste Chouteau, consignee of Messieurs Lioto and Favre, merchants at New Orleans, shippers and defendants, after having heard the parties and their statements, considered their demands and inspected their accounts, we have unanimously decided after mature deliberation that the shippers ought not to pay for freight and portage upon each hogshead belonging to them and shipped upon the bateau of Mr. Beausoleil at New Orleans excepting sixteen livres four sols and four deniers, over and above the freight accorded to the latter at the said place according to reciprocal conventions, for augmentation of freight caused during the time only of his detention at Arkansas and made indispensable during the voyage of said Mr. Beausoleil for the preservation of the goods contained in said bateau.

J. M. PAPIN.

BENITO VASQUEZ.

CERRÉ.

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Having examined the above, it is ordered that Don Eugenio Purre and Don Augustin Choteau conform to the foregoing decision given by the arbiters named; and made it known to them.

St. Louis of the Illinois, 16th of November, 1782.

FRAN<sup>co</sup> CRUZAT.

Made known these presents to the parties; speaking to them in person in their domiciles, making the said declaration and sentence aforesaid.

Done at St. Louis of the Illinois, the 16th of November, 1782.

DEMERS, *Huissier*.

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### NOTES.

Circumstances have made it necessary for the MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS to be an occasional publication instead of a quarterly as intended. The Society is now in a position to issue the COLLECTIONS regularly, and the next number, which will appear in a short time, will conclude volume two. This Volume will consist of the four issues of the Collections, Personal Recollections of General Grant, by Dr. William Taussig, A History of Battery A of St. Louis; with an account of the early Artillery Companies from which it is descended, by V. Mott Porter, Esq., and The Montezuma Mounds; Explored by N. D. McEvers, John M. Wulfinf and David I. Bushnell, by Gerard Fowke.

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At the May, 1906, meeting of the Missouri Historical Society action was taken upon a matter which had been under discussion for several years. The great importance of the property of the Society, together with its large money value, caused a feeling of solicitude on the part of many members, who feared that in some way it might be dispersed and lost to those for whose benefit so much disinterested work, had been done in acquiring it. To prevent the possibility of such an occurrence the following resolution was adopted.

“*Resolved* That the Constitution of this Society be amended by adding to Article II thereof the following words:—

To hold all its land, premises, improvements, collections of books, manuscripts, portraits, prehistoric remains, relics, moneys, *choses in action*, and all its property and effects of every kind and description, now owned or hereafter acquired, In Trust for the use and benefit of the people of the State of Missouri, forever; this Society reserving to itself the right and power at all times:—

1. To retain, at the City of St. Louis, the custody of all of said property and collections, forever.

2. To borrow money for the purpose of acquiring necessary real estate, or for erecting, or (altering or adding to a building upon real estate owned by it) a building for the housing of said collections, and as security for the repayment of any sum or sums so borrowed may encumber only its real estate.

3. To sell, exchange, or dispose of, as may reasonably appear to it to be for the interest of its *cestuis que trust*, and in furtherance of the purposes of the Society, any or all of its real property, and any article or articles from its collections, applying the proceeds thereof to the purposes of this trust, having in view always the acquisition, preservation, and exhibition of the best possible collection of such articles of historical value and interest as it is the object of the Society to collect and preserve.

4. To have exclusive right to determine the policy to be observed in carrying out the purposes of this trust, controlled only by the rules of law in such cases provided.”

The provision, for sale, exchange, or disposal of property and articles, was intended to cover real estate and such articles as are duplicates of articles retained, and such things as may be acquired by the Society which are foreign to its purposes.

For the absolute protection and safety of the Society's property the only thing now needed is a fire proof building.

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The private papers and correspondence of the late Judge Samuel Treat, has through kindness of surviving members

of his family, come as a fortunate accession to the Missouri Historical Society Collections. These papers contain much biographical and historical data of rare value and comprise many auto-chirographic letters from the most eminent statesmen and jurists in the English speaking world. The papers cover a period from 1836 down to the end of Judge Treat's distinguished career.

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The large and illustrative collection of State and private bank notes, made by the late Edward G. Moses during his nearly half a century of active life as a banker, and intended for preservation in some public institution, came near to destruction soon after the death of Mr. Moses by a paternalistic construction of an ultra-moral statute; but through the disinterested appeals of Hon. Chas. F. Joy and Dr. WJ McGee to Hon. Secretary Leslie M. Shaw the valuable collection was saved and Mrs. Moses has generously executed the design of her late husband by donating the collection to the Missouri Historical Society. This collection covers a banking period of three quarters of a century and probably has not a duplicate in the country.

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In the effort to collect the original sources of the history of our State the Society has suffered, in one instance, a severe disappointment. It was at the request of historians of other states as well as of our own, that a search was made for the manuscripts known as the Menard papers, or the St. Gem collection, to find that they had been destroyed by persons who did not know their historical value. These papers had been examined in past years by interested persons and their importance to historians was known. They comprised the family papers, letters, receipts, accounts, and concessions of land, of one of the early families of the Mississippi Valley, that of St. Gem de Beauvais. Jean Baptiste St. Gem came from Canada. He was married at or near Fort Chartres to Marie Louise Lacroix in 1725.

The St. Gem family papers, among them many relating to the business enterprise of this pioneer, would throw a light on the early history of Illinois and upon the development of the settlement in Missouri at Ste. Genevieve. Indeed, it was through a reference to these family papers that the approximate date of the founding of Ste. Genevieve, 1735, was found by Captain Gustavus St. Gem. It was at the house of Jean Baptiste St. Gem that Colonel George Rogers Clark took up his headquarters after his capture of Kaskaskia in 1778. In fact, the St. Gem papers would be invaluable to the student of history. Their loss is incalculable.

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The Sublette-Smith-Ashley-Campbell letters and papers relating to the fur trade on the Upper Missouri, to the Santa Fe trade, and to the Mexican War period form a collection of great interest. Beginning in 1827 they illustrate the progress of commerce in the west up to the year 1860. For years these papers, numbering several hundred, were in the custody of the late Mr. Melvin L. Gray. Through the kind interest of his niece and heir, Miss Eva Gray, these papers were presented to the Historical Society.

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In 1811 Mr. Joseph Hertzog, a well-to-do merchant of Philadelphia, sent his nephews, Christian and Andrew Wilt, to St. Louis to take charge of a branch trading house. The Wilts engaged in the smelting of lead, they had a soap factory, and they conducted a general trading business here. The correspondence between the St. Louis partners and their uncle in Philadelphia between the years 1811 and 1815 has been preserved in two manuscript volumes. The letters not only reflect trade conditions of the time, but tell much local news. Mr. William Hertzog Collins, a grandson of Joseph Hertzog, has presented these interesting books to us, making a notable addition to our manuscript collection.

General George R. Smith, the founder of Sedalia, and one of the early promoters of the Pacific Railway, now the Missouri Pacific, had correspondence with many of the most prominent men of Missouri of his day. His letters, presented to the Society by his daughters, Mrs. M. E. Smith and Mrs. S. E. Cotton, cover a period from 1836 to 1880. Among the papers are copies of minutes and reports of meetings of directors of the Pacific Railway.

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Through the interest of Mr. Isaac H. Orr, executor of the late Mr. Melvin L. Gray, the Records of the Executive Committee of the State Union Club of Missouri, 1861-62, with letters and papers, have been added to our collection. These papers, together with the Constitution and by-laws of the "Old Guard" St. Louis, organized 13 August, 1862, with letters and papers, from Miss Eva Gray form a valuable aggregation of historical material relating to the Civil War in Missouri.

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A collection of papers, numbering thirty in all, from Mr. Lewis Guibourd, consisting of his family papers, including land grants, petitions to governors, correspondence, and receipts, and known as the Guibourd Collection has recently been presented to the Society. These papers relate to the early French settlement of Missouri, from 1752 to 1809.

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Political conditions in Missouri in the time immediately following the transfer of Upper Louisiana in 1804 are illustrated by a number of letters written to Judge J. B. C. Lucas by prominent men through the state. These letters have been presented by the grandson and namesake of Judge Lucas, Mr. J. B. C. Lucas.

The Society has lately acquired a census of Upper Louisiana for 1787, giving the names of heads of families, the given names of other members, and number of slaves with a statement of the produce of each householder, and the number of buildings erected in that year in Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles, Carondelet and Meramec. Another census of Upper Louisiana for 1791 has also been acquired.

For these valuable documents the Society is greatly indebted to Dr. F. Franklin Jameson. Except for his kind interest they would have remained buried in the Cuban National Archives at Havana.

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It is a special aim of the Society to collect material relating to the Civil War in Missouri. Too many of our state records have been lost. It is a matter of particular congratulation, therefore, that we have obtained the Confederate Order Book of the Trans-Mississippi Department, 1862-64. This large manuscript volume was acquired partly as a gift from the Confederate Memorial Society of Missouri. It contains reports and orders of Price, Marmaduke, Shelby, Cabell, and much other material relating to the Department of Arkansas.

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Another addition to our Confederate history collection of great value is the Roster of the officers of General M. M. Parsons' Division, Missouri Troops, C. S. A., 1865, which comes to us as a gift from General Parsons' sister, Mrs. Mildred P. Standish.

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The Constitution and by-laws, list of members, and proceedings of the meetings of the Democratic Associa-

tion of St. Louis County, from 1839 to 1842, form a collection of papers of great interest. They were given to the Society by Mr. H. W. Eliot.

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The Society has had a number of interesting papers read at its monthly meetings in the last year. On October 20, 1905, Mr. Charles A. Krone read the first of a series of papers on his personal reminiscences of early plays and players in St. Louis. The second chapter of these interesting reminiscences was read before a meeting of the Society November 17, 1905. On December 12, Mrs. E. E. Hull, (Lizzie Chambers), read a paper before the Society entitled "Personal Reminiscences of a trip through Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas in Civil War." At the same meeting Mr. Gerard Fowke read his Report on Surface Deposits in St. Louis County and Southward. The Society's annual meeting was held on January 19, 1906.

On February 12, 1906, Captain Robert McCulloch presented a paper of great interest entitled "The History of Street Railways in St. Louis." Mr. Krone read the third chapter of his Reminiscences of Plays and Players on March 17, 1906, and on April 17 Mr. Walter J. Blakely delivered an address on "The Life and Work of Jan. A. McGahan," the noted war correspondent and a St. Louis boy.

On May 25, 1906, the following memorial addresses were made before the Society: Melvin L. Gray, by Judge Shepard Barclay; John S. Marmaduke, by Mr. John F. Lee, Charles Parsons, by Gen. John W. Noble.

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The Society's gallery of portraits of leading Missourians of former days, has recently received many additions. It is, however, by no means complete, and the absence of certain faces is frequently commented upon by visitors.

Among the later gifts are portraits of General John S. Marmaduke, governor of Missouri, 1884-1887; Colonel John O'Fallon, soldier, business man and philanthropist; Major Benjamin O'Fallon, brother of the foregoing, distinguished for the valuable services rendered by him to the United States government in the Indian department; Arthur Lee, Esq., a lawyer and public man of high standing; Melvin L. Gray, Esq., a man greatly esteemed as a lawyer and a citizen, for many years an officer of this society and its benefactor, and Jan. A. McGahan, a St. Louis boy, who became famous as a war correspondent and liberator of Bulgaria. All of these portraits will be reproduced in "half-tone" in the COLLECTIONS.

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A portrait of General Frank P. Blair was presented by his daughter, Mrs. Christine Blair Graham, who also gave to the Society a portrait of Senator Thomas H. Benton once owned and liked by her father.

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A portrait of Mrs. Rebecca W. Sire was presented by Miss Anna B. Green and Mrs. William McLanahan, Jr.

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The family of Mr. George Mook presented a large oil painting of the McDowell Medical College, known in Civil War time as the Gratiot Street Prison.

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Mr. Joseph Mills Hanson gave to the Society a map of St. Louis in 1864 showing the line of forts built for the defense of the city in that year.

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Miss Eulalia Philibert gave an interesting relic of pioneer times in St. Louis, a handmade walnut wardrobe, made by Jean Baptiste Ortes prior to 1780. The walnut was cut from a grove of trees that extended from the levee to Vine street.

A gift to the library of great interest was made a short time ago when the "Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, seven volumes and an atlas was presented. The same generous friend gave the Jefferson sun dial which once stood in the grounds at Monticello and made by Jefferson's own hands.

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Mr. William Lucas has presented a number of books of great value and of much archaeological interest. Within the past few months he has added to his gift by sending Lyell's Travels in North America, the first and second visits, four volumes in all.

Professor Garland C. Broadhead lately gave to the society the compass used by James Mackey.

Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin O'Fallon recently presented a number of interesting books for the library, among them a perfect copy of the Journal of Patrick Gass, one of the men who accompanied Lewis and Clark.

Miss Mary Walker Triplett gave a number of books from the library of her late father, among them a fine copy of Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies and the Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth.

# MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Established 1866

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*President.*

WILLIAM K. BIXBY,            DAVID I. BUSHNELL,  
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CYRUS A. PETERSON,  
*Advisory Committee.*

MISS MARY LOUISE DALTON, *Librarian.*

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The annual dues are five dollars.

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The Library and Collections of the Missouri Historical Society are open to the public and visitors are always welcome.

Gifts of portraits, manuscripts, biographical sketches, old letters, books and relics, illustrative of the history of the State and its people, will be gladly received.

 All persons interested are solicited to become members. Correspondence should be addressed to

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
1600 Locust Street, St. Louis.



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